HELLOWE'S
CHRONICL

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Elizabeth Vulcany. 1900.

to Mercedes 1909.

Percy E Newberry. 1910.

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¶ A Chronicle, conteyning
the liues of tenne Emperours
of Rome.

Wherin are discouered, their beginnings,
procedings, and endings, worthie to be
read, marked, and remembred.

Wherein are also conteyned Lawes of
speciall profite and policie.

Sentences of singular shortnesse
and swæteneſſe.

Orations of great grauitie and
Wisedome.

Letters of rare learning and
eloquence.

Examples of vices carefully to be auoy-
ded, and notable paternes of vertue
fruitfull to be followed.

Compiled by the most famous Syr Antho-
nie of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondonnedo,
Preacher, Chronicler, and counsellour to the
Emperour Charles the fift: and translated
out of Spanish into English, by Ed-
ward Hellowes, Groome of her
Maiesties Leashe.

¶ Hereunto is also annexed a table, recapitulating such particularities, as are in this booke mentioned.

Imprinted at London for Ralphe New-
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Anno Gratiæ 1577.

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TO THE MOST EXcellent and vertuous Princesse, and *our gratious souereigne Ladie* Elizabeth, by the grace of GOD, of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, Queene: defender of the Christian Faith. &c. Long life, with accomplishment of all Godly desires.

IGHT noble & *most gratious souereigne: if I should write or dedicate any thinge, as of my selfe, vnto your excellencie, with any spark of presumption or singularitie, as a matter meete for the viewe of the maiestie of your sacred person, or sufficient satisfaction vnto the depth of your diuine iudgment: not only mine owne weakenes would bewray me,*

and iustly yeald a cruell scourge of my discredite, but also procure my worthie reprehension, and no lesse deserued chasticemẽt. But simply presuming of your maiesties milde & accustomed fauour, prouoked by the eloquence of the Author, encouraged by the profite & pleasure of the matter, imboldened because this historie hath beene dedicated by Syr Antonie of Gueuara, *& accepted of* Charles the fifth, *an Emperour of no common renowne, and no lesse persuaded by the humblenes of a duetifull minde, as one vowed by othe and alegeance to execute my vtter seruice in euery exployt to your Maiestie: the regard whereof not leadeth but cõstraineth (although with blushing & bashfull face) to present vnto your magnificẽce this my simple trauell, translated out of Spanish into the Englishe tongue, conteyning*

ning the liues of tenne Emperours of Rome, *namely*, Traiane Coceius, Adrian, Antoninus Pius, Cõmodus, Pertinax, Iulianus, Seuerus, Bassianus, Heliogabalus, & Alexander Seuerus: *whose liues, gouernements, ends and conclusions, giue foorth matter so meete for the spectacle of princes, as wel the vertuous of the one part to take sure direction, & good counsell to their great comfort, thereby as a sounding lead, to obteine knowledge both of the depth & coast, to lead thẽselues into all safetie of bodie and minde: as also the licentious, on the other part, to moderate and staye their rash attemptes, as a sheat anchore in all furious stormes of perplexities, to saue from shipwracke both life and honour. All which being considered, in respect that the matter therin cõteyned, treateth of Kings and Emperours, and*

hath beene dedicated vnto an Emperour: the woorke of it selfe craueth your milde acceptation, as onely due vnto the souereigntie of your Maiesties estate, to escape the infamie of abasement. I your Maiesties most humble and loyall seruaunt, in most humble wise beseeching, that of your great mildnes and clemencie, it may like your highnesse to accept this my simple present, full fraught, not of skill, but of loyaltie: wherein, for as much as the Authour in the front hereof, hath fixed so worthy a prologue, that there seemeth nothing to be omitted, or that any thing might be added: yeldeth iust cause to cease further to vrge your patience with tediousnes: most humbly beseeching your Maiestie, that it maye please the same of your great bountie to pardon all my defectes that herein may appeare: and I your Maiesties most hũble

ble and obedient ſeruaunt, ſhall ueuer ceaſe to pray, that the bleſsing of the liuing GOD, may alwayes conduct & follow your Maieſtie, with all perfect felicitie, both of bodie and ſoule, as may yeeld your Maieſtie immortal fame before God and man.

Your Maieſties moſt humble and obedient ſeruaunt.

Edward Hellowes.

¶The prologue of the famous Syr Anthonie of Gueuara, Byſhoppe of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, & counſellour to the Emperour Charles the fifth, vpon the life of tenne Emperours of Rome.

(.˙.)

The Author proponeth.

VARIVS GEMINVS, a man verie glorious, and Conſul among the Romains, ſaide vnto Iulius Cæſar: O Cæſar and great Auguſtus, ſuch as dare preſume to ſpeake before thee, knowe not thy greatneſſe: and thoſe that are abaſhed to appeare in thy preſence, comprehend not thy nobleneſſe: wordes in deede right worthie of ſuch a perſon. Conformable to that which Varius Geminus ſaide, wee do ſaye: *It appertaineth to the greatneſſe of Princes, that their perſons be much authoriſed, and on the other parte, that they endeuour to communicate with their common wealthes, for that with their mightineſſe they may giue terrour, and with their plaine mildneſſe remoue all feare.* Sueto-nius ſaith of Octauius the emperour, that euer any ambaſſadours came in his preſence, which at the firſt ſight were not touched with feare: and after in communicating did not adore him: becauſe, great was the maieſtie wherewith he did receiue them, and after, verie ſweete were the woordes wherewith he did diſpatch them.

Of the great Cato Cenſorine, Plutarche ſaith: that being the man of moſte honeſtie, and greateſt grauitie that liued amongeſt the Romaines: he did neuer ſhewe to any man, a ſadde, but cheerefull countenance, or giue

euill aunſwere, nor ſhut the doore againſt any perſon, either denyed any thing that was iuſt, neither ſhamed or diſgraced any man. *Not onely happie, but alſo moſt happie is the Prince, that for rectitude of iuſtice is feared, and for his good condition beloued.* Much weakeneſſe of Princes, and great Lordes is couered, and vices diſsimuled, when with their owne they be of good condition, and with ſtraungers of gratefull conuerſation. Of the famous tyrant Dionyſius the Siracuſan, Plutarche ſaith: that the immortal hatred which the Sicylians did beare him, was not ſo much for the tyrannies that he did execute, as for the incomportable condition which he vſed: for that verie ſeldome he did permitt him ſelfe to be ſeene: and verie oft was heard laughing. The contrarie wherof is read of king Antigonus, the father of the greate Demetrius: whoe was proude, couetous, ambitious, cruell, and effeminate: and with all theſe conditions the people of his kingdomes did both ſuffer and ſerue him: onely for that they founde the dores of his houſe alwayes open, and in his mouth an amorous aunſwere. The ende of all this which we haue ſaide is, humblie to praye all princes, and giue warning vnto all ſuch as be about them, alwayes to perſuade and counſell them to be ſo humaine, that all may endure their conuerſation: and yet ſo graue, that none preſume to make ſmall accompt of them: for that it maketh much to the matter of good gouernement, to be indued with good nature and diſpoſition. No leſſe inconuenience doth followe the common wealth, for the Prince to be holden in ſmall eſtimation, then to be vntractable, ouer haughtie, or ſtraunge: for, if he be inconuerſible, they abhorre him: and if not eſteemed, they diſobey him.

Sarda-

Sardanapalus, the laſt King of the Aſsyrians, was with all men ſo humaine, that women made him ſpinne: and of Phalaris the tyrant, it is read, that he was ſo inconuerſible, that his owne daughters durſt not ſpeake vnto him. *To the ende that Princes be not abhorred in their common wealthes, they haue to conſider, and alſo beware to be noted of extremities: which is to witt, in vſing too great familiaritie with ſome, and no leſſe ſtraungeneſſe with others: becauſe muche ſtraungeneſſe ingendreth hatred: and too much familiaritie leadeth to contempt.* The rule that in this caſe wee dare giue vnto Princes, mightie and noble men, is: that they be neither ſo affable with their priuate and fauoured ſeruants, whereby to giue them hardineſſe to craue any thing vniuſt: either ſo ſtraunge with them that be not priuate, as to giue them feare to demaund iuſtice. It is not remoued from Princes, to giue their kingdomes vnto their children, to committ their ſecretes vnto ſuch as be ſeruiceable, to vſe their liberalitie with their priuate and fauoured ſeruauntes, to take their paſtimes with their friendes, vpon ſuch condition, that their conuerſation be ſomewhat generall: for aſmuche as the liberalitie of Princes extendeth not to ſatiſfie euery ſuite: they ſupply much more with their amorous aunſwers that they giue, then with the rewardes which they beſtowe. Not vnworthily was it ordeined of the moſte auncient Greekes, that the vſe of Princes ſhoulde not be to pronounce in their letters patents, and commaundementes: *I commaund this, I will this, I forbidde this:* but that they ſhould ſaye: *We commaund this, We will this, and ordeine this:* for their better remembrance, that by ſpeaking in the name of all, they ſhould in time be conuerſant with all, be familiar with all, and diuide rewardes amongeſt all, and that they are of all, and not of them ſelues.

He that hath to holde the leaſt parte of the prince, ought to be the prince him ſelfe: for that, great regarde is to be had of all men, as concerning the ſeruice of his perſon: and he ought to be vigilant in all things that are profitable to the common wealth. *Howe much the more the Prince regardeth him ſelfe: ſo muche the more he neglecteth him ſelfe. And howe muche the leſſe he careth for him ſelfe: ſo muche the more ſhall he attaine to him ſelfe: for that the harmonie of the common wealth conſiſteth in nothing more, then all men to liue of the liberalitie and bountie of the prince: and that the Prince liue in the loue of all men.*

¶The Authour proſecuteth his intent.

It is alſo neceſſarie counſell vnto the prince, that he haue a ſound minde and diſpoſition, and his intents verie well aduertiſed: for that if in his affaires he make no accompt to be certeine, he ſhall hardly ceaſe to erre: and if he be not attentiue to the affaires of the common wealth, he ſhall neuer vnderſtand them.

The prince ought grauely to regarde the thing he doth, before it be done: for the errour of any other whatſoeuer, the offence is onely felt in his own houſe: but the errour of the prince, redoundeth to the whole common wealth. The princes that be wilfull in the thinges which they will: and headſtrong wherein they commaund: beſides that they go laden with thoughts, holding their perſons in perill, eſcandalize their common wealth, accuſed to be ouer amarous of their owne proper iudgement, and moſte great enimies of others counſell. The prince alſo ought very particularly vnderſtand the things of the common wealth, if he wil vſe good gouernement thereof. And this he hath to be aduertiſed, not of ſuche as goe to murmur, but of ſuch as make iuſt report, and alſo giue counſel therein: for that

betwixt

twixt the Prince and the common wealth, there ſhall neuer be peace, if to lyars and murmurers he giue audience. Euen as Princes deſire not in their ſubiectes, but to be ſerued: euen ſo their ſubiects deſire not of their princes, but to be beloued, & moſt truely, the one is annexed vnto ỹ other, and d epẽdeth each of other: for if in the Prince there be no loue, there is none that wil ſerue him with affection. Princes and great lordes, ought to holde in great eſtimation, that their ſubiectes do obey them: but much more haue the ſubiectes to make accompt, when their lordes do loue them: becauſe, without compariſon, his bountie is much greater that bindeth vs to loue, then the trauaile of him that offereth to ſerue. As loue is not repayed but with loue, ſo Princes are not to be ſatiſfied with only giuing ſuch as do ſerue and followe them, offices, caſtels, cuſtomes, houſes and money: but alſo they ought to ſhewe them loue in their palaces, and fauour in their affaires: becauſe, with their liberalitie, they recompence their ſeruice paſt: but with their loue they bind them to ſerue in time to come.

Princes and men of power, ought in their countenance to be amorous, in their ſpeach milde, in their behauiours muche ordered: for that generous hartes, and bluſſhing and ſhamefaſt faces, that followe courtes, and go in Princes houſes, do muche more feele the diſfauour whiche they ſhewe them, then the rewardes that they denye them. *To the ende that Princes be deliuered of diſpleaſures: and their kingdomes better gouerned: it ſhalbe moſte ſound counſell for them to be affable with all, to giue vnto all, to deale for all, & to loue all: but if they determine to holde ſome more priuate, they ought much to conſider whome they admitt to their ſpeciall fauour: becauſe, for one to be priuate in Court, it is not ſufficient that the king doe chooſe him: but that alſo he be of merite and deſeruing.*

In giuing rewardes, princes may not alwayes escape errour, but in commending their heartes, they ought to be most certaine: for that, *In this whole world there is not the like torment, as a man to haue his loue euill imployed.* If Princes and great Lordes will particularly take into their fauour any of their seruaunts, they ought to be of particular deseruing: bycause, loue shall neuer be fixed: when in him that is loued, there wanteth merite. Not without cause we sayde, that it were necessarie in a Prince to be indued with a good mynd and disposition, and with sound meaning and intention: bicause if the Prince be taken with imperfect and vnlawfull affection, Alas of him, and also of his kingdome, that by him is gouerned, It is euill that the Prince haue no rule in feeding, in play, in drinking, in speaking, and also in spending: but it is much worse if he vse it not in his loue and affection: for it is a rule infallible: that euerie disordinate loue, bringeth with it some notable vice. It is a loue disordinate to bee carefull to gather riches, and not to haue a mynde to spend them: bicause vnto the greatnesse of Princes it appertaineth, to seeke what to spend: and not to learne to keepe audit. It is a loue disordinate, for ỹ prince to folow the direction of his owne proper will: bicause it is impossible but he should fayle to perfourme that which hee ought, that alwayes executeth his owne wilfull minde. Loue is disordinate, when the Prince imployeth his loue in fewe, being Lord of many: bycause Princes in such wise ought to loue, and be bountifull vnto their priuate and fauoured seruaunts, that they disgrace not the nobles of their kingdome. Loue is disordinate, when Princes in vanities, and trifles do consume their times: bycause the curious gouernour

uernour in ſuch wiſe diuideth time betwixt him and the common wealth: that he neither wanteth for affaires, or hath too much to imploy in vices. Loue is diſordinate, when the Prince is orgulous, quarellous, ambitious, and proude: for notwithſtanding, that as a Prince they ought all to ſerue him: it followeth not that as a God, they ſhoulde adore him. Loue is diſordinate, to hazarde the giuing and diuiding of rewardes, not as euerie man deſerueth, but according to the wil of him that gouerneth: for there is no equal infamie vnto the prince, as it is to chaſtice vice, & not to remunerate ſeruice. Loue is diſordinate, when of will he taketh away frō another, that of right apperteineth not vnto him ſelf: bicauſe to ỹ greatnes & ſinceritie of princes, it is iuſt & conuenient, ỹ in their rewardes & gifts, they ſhew their franke liberalitie: & in receiuing, they ſtande with all men in iuſtice. The caſe ſtandeth thus: ỹ the Prince which is indued with theſe loues & affections, may not eſcape many trauels, and alſo many ſouden aſſaults and perils: for ỹ euerie diſordinate affection, ſhe her ſelf, with her ſelf, bringeth griefe and diſpleaſure. Plutarche in his bookes of cōmon welth, perſuadeth the Emperour Traiane, that hee hath his will at libertie, and his loue ſubiect to no man: for that according as hee ſayeth: It little profiteth that a Prince be Lord of many kingdomes: if on the other part, he become bondman to many vices. The diuine Plato ſaide, that for a prince to be good, hee ought to giue his heart vnto the common wealth, his rewardes vnto ſuch as ſerue him, his deſires vnto the Gods, and his loue vnto his friendes, his ſecretes to his priuie counſell: and the time to affaires. Oh how happy were that prince, that according to this Platonicall

ſentence ſhould diuide and repart his perſon: bicauſe he being diuided for all: the whole ſhould be ioyned together, with, and for him.

¶ The authour applyeth all that which is ſayd, vnto the end wherfore he did ſpeake the ſame.

All that which we haue aboue ſayde by writing, (moſt ſouereigne Prince) wee will vtter and declare by example: for according to the ſaying of Eſchines the Philoſopher, Words well ſpoken, do awake and reuiue the iudgements: but great and manifeſt examples perſuade the heart. For to leade or intice a man to be vertuous, and to do vertuous woorkes, it maketh muche to the matter, to perſuade with diſcrete reaſons, & ſweete words: but in concluſiō, for much credite which we giue to ẏ which he ſayth: much more is giuē to that which he doth. The Poet Homer ſaid:

„ that it is, a thing verie eaſie to write acts of great pro-
„ weſſe, and verie difficil to performe them. For whiche
„ cauſe it is neceſſarie, for ſuch as deale with princes, to
„ ſhewe them by example, all which they perſuade thē
„ by writing: to the end they ſee moſt cleare, that the
„ great and mightie deedes done by other Princes in the
„ worldes: they want not force to performe them: but
„ a minde to vndertake them. No Prince hath to holde
„ of him ſelfe ſo ſmall eſtimation, that he doubt to per-
„ forme that which another Prince hath done in time
„ paſt: for after this manner, Theodoſius ſhould be diſ-
„ maide, by the remembraunce of Seuerus: Seuerus, of
„ Marcus Aurelius: Marcus Aurelius, of Antoninus
„ Pius: Antoninus Pius, of Traiane: Traiane, of good
„ Titus: Titus, of Cæſar Auguſtus: Cæſar Auguſtus, of
„ Iulius Cæſar: Iulius Cæſar, of Scipio: Scipio, of Mar-
„ cus Marcellus: Marcus Marcellus, of Quintus Fabius:

Quintus

Quintus Fabius, of Alexander Magnus: and Alexander Magnus, of Achilles the Greeke. The heartes of theſe ſo high Princes, did not reade and inquire of the deeds of their forefathers, to feare them, but to imitate them: & ſurely they had great reaſon: bicauſe *None amongſt the mortal hath done any deed ſo glorious, that by another man may not be beautified and made better.* Princes be boũd to do ſuch and ſo high deedes and enterpriſes, that of them ſelues be worthy praiſe, and very honourable for others to folow: for the ſame it is not more neceſſarie, to haue a noble minde to giue the enterpriſe: thẽ after wards to haue the aduenture, to finiſh the ſame. Plutarche ſaieth, that Ageſilaus the Greeke ſaid, that *Fortune did neuer ſhew her ſelfe noble, but vnto a minde that was generous and noble:* and ſurely he ſaid moſt truth, bicauſe *men loſe many things, not bicauſe they may not attaine them, but for that, they dare not attempt them.* The Prince ought to ſtraine and enforce him ſelf to be good, and to imitate the vertuous: ſince *with leſſe coſt, mẽ be vertuous thẽ vitious, milde then ouerthwart, valiant then cowards, patient thẽ furious, and ſober then gluttons:* for the theefe doth need as deſperate a minde to ſcale an houſe, as a noble minde is due to a captein that foloweth the wars. Dionyſius the tyrant, Gorgius the tyrant, Bias the tyrant, Macrino the tyrant, & Catiline the tyrant: if we might commend them, and they of thẽ ſelues giue reaſon: they would ſweare and affirme that they paſſed more trauell, and found thẽ ſelues in more perill in defending their tyrannies, then Scipio and Cato in conſeruing their cõmon wealthes. Oh, what great reaſon, and how much occaſion haue Princes to be good, and to fauour the good: ſince they haue authoritie to commaunde, and riches to giue: whereof if they haue skyll

to take the aduauntage, with their potencie they frame them ſelues to be ſerued, and with their giftes they bring to paſſe to be loued. Ioyntly with this, I admoniſhe and alſo aduiſe Princes and great lordes, to be magnificent in their giftes, and verie attemptiue in their commaundements. For, notwithſtanding, a Prince may do what he liſt: it is not conuenient he do what he may. Although the authoritie of the prince be free, abſolute, and without meaſure: to him it is conuenient in all thinges to vſe meaſure and moderation: for that euery gouernement that is abſolute, hath a taſte or reliſhe of tyrannie. Many Princes haue loſt thẽ ſelues by their vices which they vſed: and many more haue beene caſt away by executing their will and power: for princes in perfourming all that they can, and all which they will: it followeth, that their affection maketh them ſtumble: & paſsion, their eyes to dazell. But (moſte ſouereigne Prince) ſpeaking more particularly, by the imitation of Plutarche, and Suetonius Tranquillus, I thought good to tranſlate, compile, and to refourme the ſtorie of the liues of tenne Romaine princes, worthie moſte ſurely to be knowen, and verie pleaſant to be read. The purpoſe wherefore (moſte mightie Prince) I haue taken ſo exceeding trauaile to compounde this worke, is: vnto the ende my penne may aduertiſe, wherein my tongue with ſhame diſmaieth to ſpeake: for as Bias the philoſopher ſaide: The authoritie of princes is ſo greate, that of more thinges they haue to giue them to vnderſtand, then to dare or preſume to ſpeake. The king Artaxerxes trauailing on a certeine daye, a man of the countrie preſented him with a little water in the palme of his hand:

the

the which water, the king receiued and dranke : and when ſome did murmur of that deede, and alſo detract him: the king made aunſwere: *It is no leſſe nobleneſſe vnto the Prince to receiue little, then to giue greate and bountifull rewardes.* The philoſopher Lycurgus, that was lawe giuer vnto the Lacedæmonians, commaunded thoſe of his common wealthe, that they ſhoulde offer vnto their Gods fewe thinges in number, and not riche of value: whereof, when he was noted and alſo accuſed, made aunſwere: I commaund not to offer vnto the Gods fewe thinges, for that I thinke them not to deſerue muche, but becauſe all men ſhould haue wherewith to offer : ſince of all men they will be ſerued : for in the time of Apollo, they ſaide vnto mee: that they had rather haue little of manie, then much of fewe . In the lawe whiche God gaue vnto the Hebrues, he was ſo limitted in the thinges he demaunded, and ſo humaine in that he commaunded: that in the order of the ſacrifices which they ſhould offer, he did ordeine and cõmaund that the poore man whiche could not offer a goate, ſhould offer no more but of the hayre therof. In conſidering that Lycurgus offered vnto his Gods, iewels of ſmall price: and that king Artaxerxes receiued of a poore man an handfull of water : and that vnto the true and liuing God, they durſt offer no more but of the hayres of a Goate, giueth mee hardineſſe to preſent this work vnto your Maieſtie.

(.˙.)

¶ The

Coceius, naturally a Spaniard, borne in the citie of *Calaze, compiled by syr Anthonie of Gueuara, Byshoppe of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, and counsellour vnto the Emperour Charles the fifth.*

CHAP. I.

Of foure renoumed Cities that perished and were subuerted in Spaine.

BEfore they had Emperours in Rome, either warre was raised in Carthage, ther were in foure prouinces in Spaine, foure right notable cities, which in potencie did matche with Rome, in riches with Tyrus, in beautie with Helia, & in opulencie with Tarento. The firste was Numantia: the seconde, Cantabria: the thirde, Ystobriga: the fourth, Italica. Strabo, Isodore, and Pomponio Mela, giue great admiration vnto the readers, of the great power, richesse, and wealth of these foure cities. And on the other part, it is great pitie to consider, that there is nothing of them remayning to beholde. Not without cause it is saide, that nothing remaineth in them to be seene: because notwithstanding the prouince, boundes, and climate is knowen of the foundation thereof: yet we may hardly attaine to name the verie place where it was buylt. Vnto the citie of Numantia, Soria succeeded: vnto ỹ citie of Cantabria, succeeded Tudela of Nauarre: vnto the citie of Ystobriga, succeeded Merida: vnto the citie of Italica, succeeded Ciuil. The situation of the famous Numantia, as some men affirme, was vpon a certeine hill neare vnto Soria on the other side of the bridge: and as others doe thinke, her foundation stode in Garray a village of Soria ioyning vnto Duero. The situation of Cantabria, was a league from the citie of the Groine,

and

and on that side of Ebro, vpon a certeine height where nowe are planted many vines. The seate of Ystobriga was, where nowe the ventes of Caparra, being bayting places, stand: and others say, yt was on the hill that standeth betwixt the two riuers Las varcas de Alconeta, yel casare de carceres. The situation of Italica was ioyning vnto the citie of Ciuil: and some saye it was vpon the way to Carmona: and that the arches of Carmona were made to furnishe the citie of Italica. O secrete iudgementes of the moste high, or humaine instabilitie, that all these places being viewed personally of my selfe, where these so excellent cities were buylt, I found not so muche as a tower, a wall, a streete, or a house to beholde: neither so much as a stone almost to stumble at. We haue great reason to exclaime, and much more hath the discrete reader to wonder: since we vnderstand that fourteene yeres Numantia resisted the power of the Romaines: and now we see it made a pasture for sheepe. We vnderstande that Cantabria was the last thing whiche the Romaines did subdue in Spaine: and nowe there remaineth but a patche of vineyardes in the same. We certeinly knowe that the greatest strength which king Viriato held in Spaine, was Ystobriga: and nowe there remaineth not but certeine greene trees & shrubbes. They which write of the citie of Italica, do saye: that it was the most strong and the most estéemed of all the kingdome of Vandalia: and nowe they gather both wheat and barley in the same. Scipio the Africane destroyed the citie of Numantia, because in ỹ first Punicke battels, they would not helpe the Romaines. Gracchus a Romaine captaine, subuerted the citie of Ystobriga, because from thence Viriato made him warre. Pompeius hoste destroyed the citie of Italica: for that in the parcialitie of Iulius Cæsar they were most faithfull. The Emperour Augustus ouerthrewe the citie of Cantabria, as a man more moued with yre, then directed by reason. The case was thus: that as he had the citie besieged and brought in great distresse, he sent to require of the citizens, to yelde him all their treasure: and giue vnto Rome perpetuall tribute: The Cantabrians considering, what the Emperour demaun-

maunded: aunſwered in a letter after this manner.

Emperour Auguſtus, we pray the immortall Gods to receiue thee into their defence, and that it may pleaſe them to examine betwixt thee and vs, who in this warre hath more iuſtice: and thou knoweſt, O immortall Prince, that men, although they haue power to take warre in hande, it is not in their handes, but in the Gods to obteine victorie: becauſe we men begin many thinges with malice, the which afterwardes, the Gods do finiſh by iuſtice: with thy exceeding potencie it may not be denied, but that thou haſt brought this ſorrowfull citie into great diſtreſſe: in ſuch wiſe that we haue neither bread to eate, either water to drinke, either skinnes to make garments, or corke to make ſhooes, neither towers to couer vs: but ioyntly with this, thou haſt to vnderſtande, that if wee want armour wherwith to fight: wee lacke not heartes to abide death. It wel appeareth that thou haſt made experience of our weake forces, and vnderſtandeſt not the greatneſſe of our mindes: ſince thou demaundeſt the treaſure of our houſes, and the libertie of our perſons. The mynes that wee haue, be not of Golde to ſerue thee, but of yron, to breake thy pride. Doth it not ſeeme to thee, O emperour Auguſtus, that ſince you Romaines haue fought foure hundreth yeres in ſtraunge countries to be lordes, it were great reaſon for vs to fight in our owne houſes, to eſcape bondage? Proſecute thy warres, aud do according to the vſe of other captaines of Rome, and care not to threaten vs, and muche leſſe to flatter vs: for notwithſtanding our countrie & houſes be thine by force, neuer whiles we haue life ſhall wee be, but the Gods and our owne.

This aunſwer being hearde by the Emperour Auguſtus, he did ſweare by the immortall Gods, to take none of them to mercie, either to leaue in the citie one ſtone vppon another. And as he promiſed, ſo he accompliſhed. I would ſaye in this caſe, that if it were euill to ſweare, it was muche worſe to perfourme the ſame. Although it be an auncient cuſtome, the worde of a king to be kepte inuiolable: for the good prince ought not to put in effect, that which he hath ſworne in his yre.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the countrie and birth of the Emperour Traiane.

Prosecuting our intent, it is to vnderstand that in the dayes when warre was extremely kindled betwixt Iulius Cæsar & Pompeius, the Pompeians helde Ysto-briga, which nowe is named Lebrixa: and the Cæsarians helde Gades, whiche nowe is named Calize: these two cities did serue to gather their banished, to succour their alies, and their wounded. Before the citie of Italica was destroyed by the Pompeians, there did florish two famous knights: the one was named Iulius Coceius, & the other, Rufus Vlpius: and these two knightes, were not onely Captaines at armes, but also were chiefe of those two linages, that is to saye, of the Coceians and of the Vlpians. Before that cruell warres entred the citie of Italica, these two linages had alwayes betwixt them greate contention: but after warres began, they ioyned in great friendship: for that it hapneth many times, that hartes which may not ioyne by loue, do after consent and agree by feare. The citie of Italica being destroyed, these two knightes came to liue at Gades, which nowe is named Calize: the one of them that was named Coceius, was graundfather to the Emperour Nerua: and ỹ other which was named Rufus Vlpius, was great graundfather of the Emperour Traiane, and of the Emperour Adrian by the mothers side. The Emperour Traiane was borne in the citie of Calize the xii. of Maye, in the seconde yere of the Empire of Nero, Rufus and Catinus being consuls: In those times there was not in all Europe, so famous, so generous, either yet so profitable a studie, as that of the citie of Calize: because from Africa they repayred to studie: and from Græcia came to learne. And to the ende it shall not seeme a fable, let them reade Plutarche in the life of Traiane, Philon in the booke of Schooles, and Philostrato in

in the life of Apollonius. In that citie of Calize, vntill the age of xv. Traiane studied the Greeke toung, the Latine, & Rhetorike. Traiane was high of body, somwhat blacke of face, thinne of haire, thicke of beard, a crooked nose, broade shoulders, large handes, and his eyes, in beholding, amorous. Traiane entring the yeares of xvj. left his studie, and did exercise armes: wherin he was no lesse towarde then valiaunt. Traiane was of great swiftnesse on foote, and of great readinesse on horsbacke: in such wise that it is sayde of him, ỹ he was neuer throwne, or had fal frō his horse: or euer was ouerrun on foote. There chaūced a certeine fleete of pyrates to arriue at Calize, the which being many, and taking the citizens at vnwares: the good yong man Traiane, did shew him selfe that day so valiaunt in fight, and so venturous in conquest, that to him alone they did attribut the libertie of their countrie, and the glory of the victorie. Amongst the Myrmidons, whiche be they of Merida, and amongst the Ricinians, which be they of Truxillio, there was raised in those dayes a certaine little warre for the pastures of Gaudiano: for that the Myrmidons did say, they had held them time out of mind: they of Truxillio auouched, that they had lost them, and had receiued of them assistance to win them of the enimies. The Myrmidons did craue succour of them of Calize, in respect of their confederation: the Gauditaines did accept the embassage of the Myrmidons, as concerning their succour, and when they had chosen Traiane for capteine of their armie: he made answere: The destinies neuer permit, either the gods euer commaund, that I take a sword to shed the bloud of mine owne countrie: bicause if the one be our friends, truly the other be not our enimies. And said more. Since the warre is not begun, and the cause of their debate may be discussed by iustice, it is my opinion, rather to sende them embassadours to bring them friendes: then capteines to attempt wars. Conformable vnto all men, Traianes answere was both giuen and accepted: the which from thence forward, was holden & esteemed for a knight of great valiantnesse:

and for a man of great wisedō and iudgement. These two vertues goe not alwayes by couples: that is to say, valiantnesse and wisedome: bycause, there be some men that be doutie to take perils in hād, & be not wise to escape thē.

CHAP. III.

Howe Traiane passed out of Spaine being a yong man, to goe into Italie.

In the second yeare of the Empire of the good Vespasian, great Britaine rebelled which is now named England against the Romaine Emperour: vnto which warrs Traiane repaired, and this he did without charges to the Romaines, and for him self to obteine fame accompanied with many others of his countrie: In those warres Drusius Torquatus was capteine for the Romaines; who persuading Traiane to take wages of the Romaine people, as all others did inioy in that warres: Traiane answered. The merchaunts that come from thence hither, they repaire to be more rich, but we Gentlemen not to be richer, but more honoured. The fame that Iugurth obteined in the warres of Numantia, that same Traiane obteined in the warres of Britaine: in that the one and the other were knights of straunge countries, and young venturours, and also fortunate: bycause for their powers and noble dædes, whiche they atchieued in those warrs: Iugurthe was king of Numidia, and the good Traiane came to be Emperor of Rome. That daye whiche Drusius Torquatus entered Rome, triumphing of the Britaines, being accompanied not onely with knightes subdued, but also with knightes and noblemen that had ouercome: all the Romaines did inquire for Traiane to sée him and knowe him, for that his fame was notorious vnto all men, but his person in Rome to verie fewe knowne. And hereof it proceded in processe of time, when Traiane, and Marius Fabritius, did contend for the Consulship of Germanie: Fabritius taunted Traiane, to be a straunger borne, and disgraced in the feature of his body, vnto whom Traiane made answere: I confesse vnto thee Marius Fabritius, that thy good face was knowne in Rome,

Rome, before thy euill life: but thou canst not denie, that in Rome they did not knowe mine honest life, before my euill face. At the first when Traiane came to Rome, Titus, sonne to Vespasian the Emperour, placed him Pretour of ten legions: and sent him to the frontiers of Illyria: where he remained all the life of Titus. The Romaine legions did not a little murmur to haue Traiane for their capteine: affirming that in age he was a childe, & in nation a straunger: but after when they found him so valiant in fighting, & so wise in gouernment, they loued him as a father, & obeyed him as a captein. And as in winter Traiane wãted victuals, for that he had taken truce with the Barbarians: a certaine gentleman sayd vnto him: it is not conuenient thou shouldest be so sad, or that we shoulde suffer so great penurie: take in good part, that by dissimulation we breake the truce, by which meane we shal prouide for our selues, and our cattel. The good Traiane answered: I am not only grieued with that thou speakest, but also despited with ỹ ỹ presumest to say: for those matters which we set downe by promise, we haue not so great cause to obserue our fidelitie made vnto men: as for that we haue sworne by ỹ immortal Gods. And ỹ Emperour Titus being dead, his brother Domitian did succæde him in the Empire: which whẽ Traiane vnderstood, presently he left the charge of frontier capteinship of Illyria. The emperour Domitian was not a little grieued, & the whole armie, as also all the Senate, ỹ Traiane had forsakẽ ỹ frontiers of Illyria: for that in matters of warre he had great experience, & no lesse fortune. The Romaines did vse great vigilancie, in seeking and conseruing fortunate capteines: with whom they did dissemble & suffer more defections, then with al other persons: and this they did, bicause there be many capteines, that if they be expert in armes, they be mosse vnfortunate in the execution thereof.

Traiane remaining in Rome, without all disposition to take charge of an armie: ỹ emperour Domitian sayd vnto him: tell me Traiane, is it doutful that my empire is lesse

then that which my father Vespasian helde? or that I am more ingrate then my brother Titus was? that for them thou shouldest euerie day aduenture thy life, and for my seruice thou dainest to take a launce in hande? Traiane did answere him: I confesse that thy power is as great as thy fathers, and thy knowledge no lesse then thy brothers: but ioyntly with this, thou arte verie souden in thy commaundements, and very swift in the execution thereof: and it may be, that hauing charge of thy armies, I might be commaunded to doe some thing: the accomplishment whereof, might stand muche against all bountie: and not performing the same, I should breake the oth of fidelitie, that I haue made vnto thée.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the friendship and parentage that Traiane had with the Emperour Nerua.

IN those dayes there was a certaine Consul named Nerua Coceius, banished out of Rome by the Emperour Domitian, a man in yeares very auncient, and in all that he eyther sayde, or did, of great credite. As Traiane was at that time in the disgrace of the Emperour Domitian, frō Rome he departed vnto Nola, a certain place where Nerua was in Campania: bycause It is a thing very common vnto a man afflicted, to seeke the companie of an other in like trouble. These two right excellent men, whiche is to say, Nerua and Traiane, remained there long time in Campania, poore, banished, persecuted, & out of fauour: abyding the time when Domitian should send to kill thē, or when they should heare that he were dead: bicause if they desired his death, no lesse did he seeke occasiō to take away their liues. Traiane, for that he was young, helde Nerua who was olde in great veneration: and Nerua did beare so great affectiō vnto Traiane, that he did loue him & vse him as his sonne: for that Traiane besides his sufficiēcie & ablenesse for all causes, was in his conuersation most amorous. Nerua and Traiane remaining in that banishment, found them

them selues of neare kinred and affinitie: that is to say, of one countrie, which was Spaine, of one place, which was Italica, and that the one discended of the Coceians, and the other of the Vlpians, two famous and auncient linages: of whome we haue aboue made mention. When Traiane passed into Italie, he found no other parẽtage, but Nerua and Vlpius Ricinius his vnckle: which was two times Consul in Rome. Some say that this Vlpius Ricinius, was father vnto Traiane: but the truth is, that he was but his vnckle: for Plutarche in an Epistle that he writeth vnto Traiane, sayth: The good newes in Rome being knowne, howe thou hast ouercome king Decebal, which did tyrannize this lande: so great was the ioy which the people did receiue, that as thy fathers bones be in Spaine, they had bene here in Italie: they would do no lesse honour vnto them in the sepulchre, then they shall yealde vnto thee on that day, when thou shalt enter triumphing into Rome. And for that Nerua was so auncient and so honourable, and Traiane so valiaunt and so wel liked, many Romaines did come and goe betwéene Rome and Campania to sée them: and this was done more secretely then publikely, bycause the Emperour Domitian was verie suspicious: being most true, Verie fewe dare serue or followe such as princes do hate. Amongest all other that went frõ Rome vnto Campania to sée these two knights, was the great Philosopher Plutarche: who with Traiane, and Traiane with him, did plante so perfect and sounde friendship, that onely death was able to giue ende to the same. And as Plutarche sawe suche abilitie and will in Traiane to learne, & ioyntly with this there was no wars wherein to be exercised, he was so drunken with learning, that he did abhorre armes: vppon which occasion Nerua saide in iest: By my counsel thou shalt leaue bookes, and returne to armes, since thou haste better handes to fight, then a tong to dispute: for that it is not iust thou shouldest cease to be singular amongest captéines, to be indifferent among Philosophers. Traiane remayning there in

Campania, did marrie with Plotina, which was his onely wife: and is sayde only, for that before nor after did euer marrie other: the which vertue vntil his time was found in no Romaine prince: for that by growing olde or misliking of the one, presently they did take another. And as on a day certaine Romaines practised by secrete deuice to kil the Emperour Domitian: and in great secrecie, gaue part therof vnto Traiane, did answere: I do well see that Domitian deserued not to be elected Emperour, & much lesse deserueth to be sustained in the same: yet neuer the more shal I consent vnto his death: for that I will rather suffer a tyraunt, then recouer the renowne of a traitour. Many Romaines on a time murmuring of the insolencies of the Emperour Domitian, Traiane sayde vnto them: The intention wherwith Domitian hath intreated me, the Gods haue to iudge: for of his works which he hath done, I may
„ not complaine, since he hath bene the occasion that I haue
„ recouered Nerua for my father, Plutarche for my maister, &
„ Plotina for my wife, and aboue al the rest, he brought me
„ acquainted with aduerse Fortune: for that afore I presumed of nothing but to commaund: but now only to serue. A yeare before Domitian died, or to say better, before they had slaine him, he went to the wars in Germanie: and in that yeare Traiane was elected Consul, in the Senate of Rome. It was no smal griefe vnto Traiane to accept that Consulship: not for that he liked not to be lincked with the friendship of honour: but for the griefe whiche he felt to leaue the companie of Nerua.

CHAP. V.

Howe Nerua was made Emperour, and adopted Traiane his sonne.

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The Romains not able to indure the iniuries and tyrannies of Domitian, determined to kil him, the which out of hande they did perfourme: the xiiii. of October, in the fourtie fifte yeare of his age, when he had reigned xv. yeares. In many a day the Romaine people had not receiued so ioyful newes, as ỹ newes of the death of Domitian: in such maner, that they gaue rich rewards vnto currers & postes that brought the same, and made great ioy in the countries where they passed: for that they did as muche desire his death, as they did abhorre his life. Petronius capteine of the guard, and Partenius his chamberleine, were the men that practised the death, and also violated the life of Domitian: and they them selues gaue order, that Nerua presently should be elected Emperour. The Romaines did so extremely hate Domitian, that not contented to sée him deade, & to hale his bodie péecemeale trayling through the streates of Rome, al his pictures and counterfets they did spoyle and take away, all his arches and titles they did raze out, all his edifices whiche he had built they ouerthrewe, all writings which he had firmed they burnt, and all that were named Domitians were banished, in suche wise, that they could neyther indure to sée him aliue, neither heare him named after his death. The day after the death of Domitian, Nerua Coceius was declared Emperour: and of his election all the Romaine people were much pleased: the one cause, for that he was so vertuous, and the other, bicause he was an enimie vnto Domitian. Presently that Nerua was elected Emperour, presently he sent Traiane as Pretour into Germanie, to the end he should take into his power, the legions and gouernement of that prouince: on the one parte, for that Traiane was liked, and muche desired of all the men of warre: and the other for that Calphurinus capteine vnto Domitian was holden somewhat suspected.

Amongest other euill conditions wherewith the Emperour Domitian was possessed, was: that all thinges which séemed vnto him good, riche, or faire, he dyd much

praise it, and therof they had to consider for most certaine, that all whiche he praised, frely they had to present the same: for if other wise, incontinently he toke it by force. Of these like things Nerua found in his palace, much goods of other mens: whiche by publike proclamation were all restored vnto the owners: In suche wise, that this good prince wold not only not take frō other men, but also make restitution of ỳ which by his predecessours had bin robbed. When Nerua was elected Emperour, he was exceeding olde, and of infirmities much persecuted: for in him there was nothing sound but his toung wherewith he did talke, and his good iudgement wherewith he did gouerne. The Romaines beholding Nerua so olde, and sickly, complayning that he coulde not sleepe, and that for weakneſſe of stomach, he durſt eate but of verie fewe things: they helde it for most certaine, that his life was verie short, and with this motion they beganne to holde him in small estimation. Considered by Nerua, that he had not long to liue, and that the Romaines did not estéme him: he remembred to adopt Traiane as his sonne, and to accept him for companion in the Empire: and so it came to passe, that presently he sent him the imperiall enſigne, which was a certaine manner of cape with a hode, and with the same he wrote him a letter, wherein were written no other wordes but these: Phœbe tuis telis, lachrimas vlciſcere noſtras. As if he shuld say: Noble Traiane, thou shalt haue charge with thy venturous armes to reuenge my sorrowfull teares. For the disobedience which the Romaines committed againſt his commaundements, and the want of reuerence they helde of his person, Nerua of Traiane craued that reuengement, bycause it is a thing much vsed amongest men persecuted & afflicted, that the iniuries which they may not reuenge with their handes, they bewaile with their eyes. In the time that this did passe, Traiane was in Almaine, in the citie of Agrippina, which nowe is called Coleine, and the night before that he receiued the imperiall enſigne, and the letter from the Emperour Nerua, he dreamed that he

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was inuested with a purple garment, and a ring put on his right hand, and crowned with a certaine crowne. Only three monethes and fiue dayes did passe after Traiane was elected Emperour, vnto the death of Nerua: who dyed in the age an hundred tenne yeares, ten monethes, and tenne dayes.

THE VI. CHAP.

Of the lawes that Traiane made, to the profite of the common wealth.

AT the instant in which Traiane vnderstode, that the Emperour Nerua was deade, he departed vnto Rome: where at his comming he did celebrate the obsequies of his Lorde and friend Nerua: and they were suche and so riche, that it seemed rather feastes for the liuing, then honours for the dead: bycause there was nothing in them ẏ moued sadnesse, but to see Traiane goe verie sad. The first thing that Traiane sayd, promised, & sware in the Senate, was: that no man that was good and peaceable, by his cõmaundement or consent, should be put to death: which he obserued, al ẏ daies of his Empire. After this he cõmanded Emilia to be sent for, which was captaine of the Pretorian armies: whom he commaunded to be discharged of his office, and to be banished the Empire: the one cause, for that he had disobeyed the emperour Nerua: and the other cause, for that he had imbezeled the payes of the men of warre. He commaunded publike proclamation to be made, that all men that had iust cause to complaine of the Consuls, of the Senatours, of the Iudges, or other officers of Rome, that they shoulde come forth and declare: for that he wished satisfaction vnto the one, and correction vnto the other. Personally Traiane did visite all offices of Rome: which is to vnderstande, where they solde breade, where they weighed flesh, where they measured wine, where the merchaunts dwelt, where straungers did lodge, and so of al

other offices: among which, he allowed all that was good, and gaue reformation vnto all that was euill. He forbad the vse of shops or tauernes in Rome, that is to saye: that they should not sell bread, wine, and flesshe dressed in one house: affirming, that prepared vices, is the occasion to make many vicious. He commaunded all the neighbours of Rome to be registred: and there was found 285000 houses of married men, and 42000 young men to be married, 7000 priestes of the temples, 32000 common women, 12000 houses of Inholders, and 65000 straunger factours. He forbad any poore man to goe from doore to doore, but that all which were impotent, should be succoured of the common treasure: and vnto such as could trauaile, they gaue them whereon to worke from the Senate. He commaunded all Juglars and Jesters to learne some occupation, and to mainteine them selues in their owne houses: and otherwise to be banished Rome. Traiane commaunded reformation in all estates, and caused examination to be taken of al students: and they were more without comparison that were banished for vnable and vicious, then remained for learned and vertuous. For that in Rome there were people of many straunge countries, ioyntly therewith so many women, of which many did perishe in childbed: and many children died for want of place to bestowe them: For which purpose the good Traiane did cause to be buylt a famous house in the mount Celius, and indued the same very well with his owne patrimonie: where all women that would, were kepte and brought abedde by the space of two monethes: and that all the children vntill the age of foure yeres were there brought vp and nourished. Traiane consented not, that in all the yere they should obserue in Rome but xvii. holydayes: saying, that without comparison, the Gods were more serued on such dayes as the Romaines did trauaile, then on such dayes as they rested: because the vices were more which they did commit, then the sacrifices which they did offer. Traiane did moderate the sacrifices that were offered vnto the Gods, that

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is to say, neither to haue so many, nor yet so sumptuous: saying, that the Gods would rather we should amend our liues, then offer our goods. Vnto the priestes of the temple he commaunded to be giuen oyle, vnto the vestall virgins wheate, vnto the olde horsemen cloth for garments, vnto the poore wood to burne, vnto Embassadours wine to drinke: for that all these things were not onely in Rome verie deare to be bought: but also not at all times to be had for money.

CHAP. VII.

¶Of the noble and notable vertues that were in Traiane.

THE yere that Traiane came to Rome to be Emperour, he was of xlii. yeres, in which age, he had in all thinges such successe, and did vse such moderation, that neither by his youth did hazarde the attempt of any foolish deed: either by slouthfulnesse of old age, did leaue any thing euil prouided. Traiane was a Prince, in whose wordes & workes enuie was neuer knowne: and as on a certeine time the Philosopher Plutarche did commend him for the same, Traiane saide vnto him: Plutarche, I giue thee to vnderstand, that of pure pride, I am not enuious: for that alwayes I thought my selfe happie, to enterprise suche, so greate, and so notable dedes, that all men should enuie mee for the thinges I should take in hand: and my selfe to mislike no man for any his noble attempts. Traiane was not malitious, either suspicious, although by nature he were of sharpe iudgement: which happeneth in few persons, for y commonly, men of sharpe iudgement, be not alwayes of sound condition. And as great affaires naturally bring with them great thoughtes and displeasures: although vnto Traiane they gaue some griefe, he was neuer seene of man to be angry, because olde wisedome had more Lordship in him, then soudeine yre. Although Traiane hadde manye that did wishe him euill, and

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procure him euill: some for malice, some for enuie, and some bycause he did chastice them. He was neuer found that vtterly did seeke his destruction: but that in chastising the quareller and vicious, they more commended him for his clemencie, then complained or murmured for their griefe and punishment Although Traiane were not much learned, he was moste truely a greate friende vnto learned men: whome he did promote vnto honours and to estates, and did much ioy to holde them for his friendes: in suche wise, that in his house and court, a learned man was neuer seene in necessitie. Traiane did much desire to vnderstande the ambitions of Rome, and discoders of his house: but ioyntly therewith he woulde not be aduertised by the manner of murmuring, but rather by the way of aduice. Traiane was a great enimie of liers, & no lesse of detractours: for which cause they say, ý many times he sayd: It is more safe vnto princes, to haue patiẽce to heare their own errours, then to giue eare vnto such as reporte other mens defections: and sayde more. That of necessitie the Prince must haue bloudie hands, that giueth eare to murmurers. Traiane wãted ý general vice which vsually reigneth in all men, which is couetousnesse, wherof he was not either accused or noted: but rather of great bountie & larges, he was of all nations well liked & commended, bicause they were infinite that did praise him, for that which they had receiued, and no man did complaine for that which he had taken. Traiane naturally did delight in warres, and after they were begunne, verie diligent in prosecuting, and moste constant in finishing the same. Albeit he was giuẽ vnto warres, yet therfore he ceased not to procure by al meanes to conserue peace: for as he said, The Gods neuer permitted that any should be ouercome in the wars, but such as be enimies vnto peace. Traiane was verie moderate in the ordinarie expẽces of his house: & ioyntly with this, moste liberall in causes of war: and moste certainly in the same he shewed him self to be a prince skilful, prouident & wise: for as Plato sayde, If the expences of the common wealth

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be not moderated, afterwardes ye ſhall not faile, to want wherewith to withſtand the enimies.

CHAP. VIII.

¶Of the proude and ſtately buildinges which Traiane made.

TRaiane made in Rome many & very notable buyldings: it is to vnderſtande, a great and ſumptuous market place, and all the things that were in the compaſſe thereof. He made a paued calſey, being a broad high waye that laſted two leagues and halfe, whereon they might come & go in Summer without duſt, and in Winter without mire. He made a temple vnto the God Apollo, another vnto the god Mars, another vnto the god Iupiter, another vnto the god Eſculapius, another vnto the goddeſſe Ceres, another vnto the goddeſſe Bellona, another vnto the mother Berecyntha, whome the Romaines named the mother of all the Gods. He repaired the decayed walles, he made tenne paire of milles vppon barkes on the riuer of Tyber, in which he commaunded that the prieſtes, the veſtall virgins, and the olde knightes ſhoulde firſt grinde and be ſerued. He did repaire and inlarge the colledge, and placed gates, porters, and watchemen, and many counterfetes and pictures of golde and ſiluer: and did vſe for cuſtome as oft as he came thither, to be the firſt that entred, and the laſt that went forth. He buylt in all ſtreetes in Rome publique purging places, and commanded vpon great & grieuous penalties, that no man ſhould be ſo hardie to defile the ſtreates, or other open places: in ſuch maner, that all the dayes of Traiane, Rome did not ſeeme, but as a hall cleane ſwept. In the fourth region ioyning vnto the temple of Serapis, Traiane did buyld moſt ſumptuous baynes, much larger then thoſe which Titus made, and much richer then thoſe which Tyberius buylt. Alſo Traiane buylt an hundred houſes large and ſtrong, wher-

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in to kill and sell their bæfe and mutton. In the gardeines of Vulcane, Traiane did buyld an house of pleasure, and made therein a certein fishepoole for delight: but it is not found or recorded, that he did either eate or slæpe in the same. Neare vnto the houses of the Fabians, he brought from farre a founteine, in the compasse whereof he erected a stately house, naming it the place of Datia. Traiane naturally, was a friend not onely of buylding, but also to beholde buyldinges and worke men: whiche is most certeinly knowen, in that he made a lawe: that all such men as should raise any newe buyldinges in Rome, the thirde parte of the charges shoulde be paide from the common treasure. It was a marueilous matter, that in all these & many other buyldings which Traiane made in Rome, he vsed no other mennes money, he constrained no man to trauaile by force, he deferred no man of payement, for he saide and helde opinion, that it were more honest and also more sure vnto Princes, to dwell in poore lodginges: then of other mennes sweat to make riche houses.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Of some vices whereof Traiane was noted.

TRaiane wanted not some humaine infirmities, wherein men at times do fall: for, if with reason he were praised for many thinges: not without occasion in some causes he was iustly discommended. Vntill this daye there hath bæne no Prince in whome all vertues did concurre, either in whome all vices were founde: bycause, there is no man such an outcast, in whome there is not to be found somewhat to be praised: either any man of life so reformed, that in him there is not somewhat to be amended.

Traiane

Traiane naturally was proude and ambitious of honour: and after a manner he did delight, that in open place they should erecte vnto him pictures and counterfetes of golde, and that his fame might be spreade throughout the worlde. In all his erected buyldinges he placed the titles of his triumphes, and perſuaded the Orators to compounde many matres to his praiſe, whiche he made to be grauen in ſtone in the hyeſt front of his buyldinges. In the vice of the fleſhe, Traiane was not a littie fleſhly: and yet in this caſe it is moſte true, that he neuer vſed force to any perſon: but ioyntly therewith, being moſte diligent in perſuaſion, and verie liberall in giuing: he fired his amorous affection vppon no perſon, that he inioyed not. In his garmentes, and in the manner of the faſhion and wearing thereof, Traiane was moſt curious and coſtly: bycauſe there was no daye, that either of Golde, ſiluer, or ſilke, he did not on his perſon vſe ſome chaunge.

As we haue ſaide, Traiane was a Prince both wiſe, and of ſharpe and readie iudgement: but ioyntly therewith, muche affectionate vnto his owne opinion: whereof cares many times did followe and perſecute him: bycauſe, there is not, hath beene, or ſhalbe Prince in this worlde, ſo wiſe, that neceſsitie conſtraineth not, at times, to chaunge counſell.

Traiane was a verie friende vnto wiſe men, but he him ſelfe was not muche learned: whereof beeing repreued by his friende and Philoſopher Plutarche: Traiane ſaide vnto him: the Gods haue not created mee to turne ouer bookes, but to deale with armour. When Traiane had vacant time from warres, he did muche delight to take his pleaſure in vaine thinges, wherein he conſumed many nightes and dayes, and of this vice he was not a little noted, and alſo accuſed: and doubtleſſe not without great cauſe: for that Princes which preſume to bee good Princes, in ſuche wiſe ought to take their paſtime, that they ſeeme not to loſe their time. Notwithſtanding that Traiane deliuered Rome of manye vices,

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and banished from thence many that were vicious: he was noted and also blamed, that he defended and sustained the sworde players, who were men vile and seditious, and this he did, because in his youth they had bene his frends, and delighted in them: wherin he had lesse reason, for that It is not iust, that Princes take suche recreation for their persons, as tendeth to the preiudice of the comon wealth. Traiane was verie moderate in feeding, but ioyntly therwith, not ouer sober in drinking: for that to obteine good wine, he was somewhat curious and carefull, and in the drinking thereof, not verie temperate. Notwithstanding, that sometimes he dranke somewhat more then was conuenient for the health of his bodie, and to the authoritie of his person: yet, at that time, neuer man sawe him committ or procure any vile deede.

CHAP. X.

¶Of the first warres that Traiane had against the Datians.

In the xliiij. yere of his age, and in the second of his Empire, Traiane receiued newes, that Decebal king of Datia, which in these dayes is named Denmarke, rebelled against the Romaine Empire: the which newes gaue no small skandal and offence vnto the Senate: for that on the one part naturally they were a nation very warlike: and on the other parte, for that king Decebal was a prince of great vnquietnesse, and also of a minde determined. For that the Emperour Domitian was a greater friend vnto vices, then an enimie vnto enimies: in all his reigne, king Decebal did neuer yeald obedience vnto the Romaine Empire: whereby the Datians had receuered great boldnesse, and the Romaines lost their credite.

Traiane, in his owne person determined to go in those warres: for which purpose he made choice of a verie small armie, and yet of much strength: for he helde opinion, that

that, as no other meates ſhould be brought vnto the table, then are to be eaten: ſo they ought not to leade vnto the warres, but ſuch as muſt fight: and ſaide further: by experience I haue proued, as well in eating, as in fighting, that many meates at table be lotheſome: and in the warres many men be troubleſome. King Decebal beeing aduertiſed, that Traiane remoued from Rome to make conqueſt of him and his countrie, determined to marche and encounter with him vppon the waye: and as he purpoſed ſo he performed: for he helde the Romaines in ſo ſmall eſtimation, that he counted it ſhame to be beſieged of them. And when the armies were in ſight one of another, the Barbarians being ſo manye, & the Romaines ſo fewe: they did not a litle perſuade Traiane, to take peace, or to make ſome honeſt truce, and without peril to return to Rome. Traiane to this made aunſwer: our weakeneſſe ſhould be great, and with great reaſon they would blame vs in Rome, if ſo ſoudēly we ſhould ceaſſe to make warre, without firſt making proſe, to what ende their forces do extende, and alſo vnderſtande what our deſtinies do containe: bycauſe it may be, that if their power be great, our fortune may be much greater. King Decebal had taken & fortified all the daungerous paſſages, and broken all bridges, barkes, & botes of all the riuers, and had taken & ſpoiled all the victuals where the Romaines ſhould paſſe: and all theſe thinges were occaſions to increaſe trauaile vnto Traiane, but not of power ſufficient to remoue his enterpriſe: for that Traiane was of ſo valliant a minde, that where he ſawe fortune moſt doubtfull, from thence he did hope of victorie moſte certeine. Traiane did take & poſſeſſe the height of the rockes and mountaines, and thereon with all his armie did trauaile many nights and dayes: & king Decebal did neuer conceiue that Traiane would trauaile by thoſe thornie mountaines: for that he thought it impoſſible for men to trauaile where beaſtes could not eſcape. King Decebal was conſtrained to returne vnto the plaine countrie, and to fortifie him ſelfe in ſtrong cities, &

to this ende Traiane did purpose not to fight in mountains that be daungerous, but in fieldes that be plaine: for he saide, that they came not to fight with the mountaines, whiche bred bruite beastes: but to tame cities which susteine seditious men. In very short space Traiane had taken fiue cities, seuen castels, and many prisoners: among which Mirto was taken, being vncle, tutour, and captaine of king Decebal: a man of greate grauitie and of no lesse authoritie. Traiane was so rigorous with them that did resist him, and so pitifull vnto such as did yelde them, that some for loue, and others for feare, began secretely to practise throughout the kingdome, totally to yeald themselues vnto Traiane: because they sawe euery day Traians force to increase, and the power of king Decebal to decay and growe very weake. Traiane besieging a certeine citie named Myrtha, holding the captaine therof in great distresse, king Decebal forgate not to sende him relefe & succour of great power: against whome Lucius Metellus, a captaine of Traianes did march and aduaunce him self: who at that instant fought so valiantly and manlike, that he left not of all the enimies one onely person, that was
» not either taken or slaine. And as in that battaile manye
» Romaines were slaine, and many more wounded, lacking
» clothes to binde vp their woundes, Traiane tare his owne
» shirt to supply their want in that behalfe. Being knowne within the citie, howe their succorour was discomfited, and howe Traiane, to cure his wounded had rent his own shirt, they did feare the victorie, and were amazed at a worke of so great clemencie, and bothe these things were not a litle preiudiciall vnto king Decebal, chiefely for that he was proude and disdainfull: for the good Traiane, if with his engins he ouerthrewe their castels, with ỹ fame of his good workes, he did robbe and steale the mindes of his armie.

The citie of Myrtha beeing taken and rendred into the handes of Romaines, presently king Decebal sent Ambassadours vnto Traiane, aduertising that he would

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become subiect vnto the Romaine Empire: vppon suche condition, that the thinges whereon they should capitulate, were reasonable, and suche thinges as they shoulde commaunde to be perfourmable: for otherwise, he and his were determined rather to dye with libertie, then to liue in bondage. The conditions that Traiane sent to demaund were these.

That he should leaue all armour, discampe his armie, subuert his castels, yelde his engines, restore that which was robbed, become a friende vnto the friendes, and an enimie vnto the enimies of the Senate, render suche captaines as came to his succour, and giue 100000 pesants of golde to paye the armie, and giue one of his sonnes in pledge for suretie of all promises. All these conditions king Decebal was contented to sweare and obserue: except the rendering of the captaines which came in his fauour to succour him: saying that so vile a déede did not agrée with the clemencie of Traiane to demaunde it: neither vnto his royall fidelitie to graunt it: for that he yelded him selfe and his countrey, but to preserue the life of his friendes and alies. King Decebal came vnto the presence of Traiane, and kneeling vpon the grounde, did take off the crowne from his head and kissed the knée and the hand of Traiane: the which lifting him from the grounde and againe placing the crowne vpon his head: saide vnto him: I admitt thee to kisse my knee for the rebellion which thou hast committed, and I gaue thee my hande to kisse for the vassalage whiche thou owest mee: nowe I giue thee place to sitt by mee as a friend: I returne thy crowne vnto thee, as vnto a king: and therefore, learne to vnderstande thy faulte past, and to conserue this present benefite: for otherwise, thou shalt put mee to muche trauaile, and thy selfe in great peril.

CHAP. XI.

¶Howe Traiane triumphed of the Datians, and refourmed his common wealth.

MAny castels being furnished, and others ouerthrowen and subuerted, and the armies being paide with king Decebals money: Traiane departed vnto Rome, leading with him the kinges sonne for pledge, and other noble men for Ambassadours: because it was a lawe much vsed and also obserued amongest the Romaines, that it were of no value which was capitulate in the wars, if it were not confirmed in ỹ Senate at Rome. The Ambassadours of king Decebal arriued at Rome before the Emperour Traiane: who bareheaded, their armour throwne downe, and their hands ioyned and lifted vp, did humbly beseche the Senate, that it might please them to pardon kinge Decebal the rebellion which he had committed against them, and to confirme all that which the Emperour Traiane had capitulate, because for that which had passed, he did repent him, and for time to come did offer amendes. With readie disposition the Romaine senate did approue, allowe, and confirme all actes agreed vppon betwirt Traiane and the Datians: and presently commaunded their armour to be restored them, & to walk in ỹ citie at their libertie: because it was a lawe inuiolable, that the Ambassadours whose Princes helde warres with the Romaine people, might weare no kinde of armour, either walke the streetes at libertie without licence. Many and most extreme were the feastes wherewith the Romaines did receiue the Emperour Traiane, & very great was the riches ỹ he bestowed in his triumph: & admitting ỹ the Romains did much reioyce to see their Empire riche & in great power: but it did muche more please them to beholde Traiane returned whole, safe, and aliue: for it is incredible, what affection and loue all men did beare him, and the sacrifices beyonde all valure that for him they did offer.

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On the daye of his triumph, the sonne of king Decebal was placed in the arche with Traiane, for that he was a verie childe: whome afterwardes he did intreate, not as a prisoner, but as his owne proper sonne. In the conquest of the Datians, and in visiting the Germaines, Traiane was deteyned willingly two yeares: and at his returne vnto Rome, he found not the common wealth in such order as he left the same, and thereof is no marueile: for "Princes making warre with their enimies, presently the "citizens make peace with vices. That day in which Tra- "iane entred triumphing into Rome, he that by chaunce was moste noted in those playes and pageantes, and of whome Traiane that day did take moste delight, was a certeine maister of Enterludes named Pilas, who for reward of his trauaile, did not craue of Traiane but licence to vse his facultie. wherein Traiane did aunswere him: Princes haue to consider that their commaundements be iust: but after commaundement, for no request or seruice they ought to reuoke the same. That which I will do for "thee, shal be to paye thee yerely out of mine owne treasure, "as muche as thou maist gaine by playing in the stretes of "Rome. "

Although Traiane went laden with armour, compassed with affaires, occupied in warres, busied in buyldings, importuned with friendes, tyred with enimies, and aboue all, moste studious in amplifying his fame, and to perpetuate his memorie: he neuer grewe negligent in good gouernement of the common wealth. He was no lesse attentiue in hearing, either lesse diligent in dispatching base & ciuil affaires, then those cases of great weight in the common wealth. Notwithstanding he were much busied in the affaires of warres, he did neuer the more growe negligent in the administration of iustice. All the time that he was remaining in Rome, once or twice a weeke he did sitt openly to dispatche matters of iustice.

For any motion that good Traiane had to be solitarie in his house, or for any disease whereby he was with-

drawne into his chamber, either for any affaires that he had for the warres, neuer man came to craue iustice, vnto whome he denied audience. When any person came, much troubled and furious in complaining of some friend or enimie, presently he stopte his eare with one of his fingers, saying: that he reserued the same, to heare the accused.

Traiane did neuer sitt to heare and determine matters of iustice, but at the gate of the Emperour Titus, and in the place of Augustus: and being demaunded, why more there, then elsewhere: aunswered, I place my selfe where iust Princes were wont to sitt: because in remembring them, I may committ no want of iustice. Traiane being on horsebacke, and vpon the voyage of the seconde warres into Datia, there came a woman and saide vnto him: Emperour Traiane, I am pore, olde, and a widowe: and hauing but one daughter, one of thy household seruaunts hath rauished her. Traiane aunswered: pore woman, be not importune with mée: for I sweare vnto thée, by the immortall Gods, that being returned from the warres, I will do thée iustice: to this the olde woman did replye: and what suretie hast thou Traiane, to returne from the warres: hearing so byting an aunswere, presently he lighted on foote and deferred his departure, vntil he performed iustice with the pore olde woman. Traiane helde for custome, when any person did complaine, presently he commaunded it to be written in a booke which he had in his chamber: & this the good Prince did, to the ende to aske accompt of the Iudge to whome he did remitt the same, or else for his own better remembrance for dispatch thereof.

In some thinges, some Princes were equall vnto Traiane, and in some thinges did surmount him, but in rectitude of iustice, there was no prince like him in Rome: for that he did neuer man wrong in iustice, either at any time had affection or passion in giuing sentence. Many times Traiane did vse to say: that for Princes to be Iusti-

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ters, it were right necessarie to be iust in their owne persons: because subiectes and vassals be more easily persuaded to do that which they see, then to obey in that which they are commaunded. Traiane was the first that placed patrones in the Senate, that should defend the poore: and the first also that gaue order, that one daye in the weeke, their causes should be hearde. The Censours or Iudges of Rome, did sit but two houres in the morning, and one at after none, to heare causes: and Traiane did giue order that they should be resident three houres before none, and two houres at after none, whereof Traiane was much praised, because it was occasion both to cut off suits, and to dispatch suiters. In the dayes of Traiane, none that had charge of Iustice might augment his goods: but in that estate of riches or pouertie, wherein he began to gouerne, in the same he had to conserue him selfe: and in repaymēt of his trauaile, besides the rewardes which the Prince did giue him, his sonnes were married with the goods of the common wealth.

Being knowen vnto Traiane, howe immortall suites were in the Senate: he ordeined that all suites of Italie should continue but one yere, and the suites of straunge countries, but halfe a yere. Traiane made diuers houses in Rome, where the Censours and Iudges might assemble to heare and administer iustice, and also made strong prisones, in such wise, that this good Prince prouided, that the good should be succoured, and the euil chastised.

CHAP. XII.

¶ Of the seconde warres that Traiane had against the Datians.

TWentie monethes after that Traiane had ouercome the Datians, the ſonne of king Decebal died in Rome, whoe remained there as pledge, for that which his father had ſworne and promiſed: and Traiane was no leſſe greeued with the death of that childe, then if it had bene his owne proper ſonne and heire. The day that king Decebals ſonne was dead, they ſaye that Traiane ſaide: the death of this childe grieueth me not, for that it is a ſorrowe to the father, but for breache of promiſe which he ſhal committ: for if he haue bene quiet, it was more for ỹ recouering of his ſonne, then for obedience vnto the Senate. Not long after this newes came to Traiane, howe king Decebal was rebelled, and to reſiſt the Romaines he repaired the diches, furniſhed the caſtels, entred confederacie with his neighbours, renued and recouered victuals, and more and aboue the reſt, made warre with the friendes of Romaines. The campe of Agius, which was a greate and a populous countrie, being reſtored by Traiane vnto him from whome it was taken, king Decebal reentred, did take and occupie the ſame, in ſuche wiſe, that all thinges which Traiane had ſet downe and determined, was deſpiſed, and in all that king Decebal had ſworne, he was forſworne. Relation of theſe thinges being made vnto the Senate, king Decebal was pronounced an enimie, to publiſhe libertie vnto all perſones to giue him and make him warre: becauſe it was a law amongeſt the Romaines, that notwithſtanding any did mutine or rebell againſte the Prince, vntill in Rome he were declared an enimie, they might not make warre either againſt him or his countrie.

Traiane once more determined in his owne perſone to goe to the warres of Datia, neither woulde he take with him any Conſul or Captaine that was notable in Rome, ſaying: that ſince king Decebal to him onely had broken his worde: to him onely it did apperteine to reuẽge the iniurie. King Decebal, howe ſoeuer he had made experience of the forces of Traiane, he would not as in the former

former warres abide him in the fielde: but retired into the most strong holdes of his kingdome, to his small profite: for Traiane had sworne before he departed from Rome, to remaine dead in Datia, or liuing king Decebal either dead or aliue vnto Rome. Many of the Hunnes which now are named Hūgarians, & many of the Rhenes, which are ỹ people inhabitant neare vnto ỹ riuer Rhene, were come vnto ỹ succour of king Decebal, al which people, when they vnderstode that Traiane came with so great a power, and so determined, they forsoke king Decebal in the plaine field: notwithstanding, would he not forsake his wilful purpose, for that his condition was to beginne his attemptes with great rashnesse, and no lesse stout to prosecute them. King Decebal was then of the age of two and fourtie yeares: a Prince most certainly in body of perfect proportion, gratious in conuersation, magnificent in spending, valiaunt in armes, diligent and carefull in the warres, although in the same most vnfortunate: the whiche lost both him and his countrie: bicause little auaileth diligence, where good hap is contrarie. King Decebal was a Prince most vnfortunate, to match in contention with Traiane, whee was a Prince most fortunate: bycause vnto the one, all thinges did happen vnto his owne liking: and to ỹ other, all things contrarie to that he did desire. After fiue monethes ỹ the warre was begun, as ỹ one Prince did increase, & ỹ other decrease: King Decebal retired vnto a certain castel, with the most valiaunt men of his armie: where Traiane did vtter & expend the vtterest of his skill, deuice, & policie, to take him: and king Decebal his greatest force and fortitude to defend him selfe. By a Decebal counsel on a certaine night, they conueyed ouer the wall fiue young men, fayning to be fled, which came vnto Traianes campe, with myndes determined to kill him, eyther with weapō or poison. King Decebal had inuented this treason: for that wanting, as he wanted strength: he would profite and prouide for him selfe, by treason and guile. And as Traiane was of a sincere condition, and nothing malicious, had no

ſuſpicion of that malice and guile, but rather receiued thē with great pitie, and conferred with them a great parte of the day, inquiring and demaunding them of the armies and conditions of king Decebal: and wherefore he had broken his promiſe and othe. There wanted not in Traianes campe, that could diſcerne, by their countenance, geſture and ſilence, that thoſe young men were traitours, or elſe theeues: and one of them being taken and examined, did confeſſe, that by the counſell and commaundement of king Decebal, they were come to murther Traiane. And as king Decebal was diſappointed of this treaſon and deuice, and the traitours chaſtiſed according to their demerites, he determined another deuice: and the caſe was thus. Upon a truce he craued to ſpeake with Longinus, a famous capteine and much beloued of Traiane: who being come vpon aſſurance, was taken and bound. Traiane was not a little offended, when he vnderſtoode that Longinus was detained as priſoner, & no leſſe diſpleaſed with Longinus, that had giuen too muche confidence to the aſſurance of king Decebal: ſaying, that the perſon which is a promiſe breaker with men, and periured vnto the Gods; by no meanes might deſerue credite. King Decebal gaue Traiane to vnderſtande, that except he might receiue pardon for him ſelfe and all his knightes, Longinus ſhoulde continue priſoner: to this Traiane made anſwere, that if he had taken Longinus in good war, he wold do any thing to giue libertie vnto his perſon: but ſince Longinus gaue truſt where he ought not vnto his worde, he was bounde to conſerue his life: for that good Princes be more bound to mainteine that whiche they promiſe, then to procure that which they deſire. Althoughe Traiane ſpake theſe wordes openly, he did geatly trauell to deliuer Longinus, eyther for exchange, or elſe for money: but Longinus vnderſtanding thereof, dranke poyſon, wherof he dyed: & ſent word vnto Traiane, ỹ the Gods had neuer to cōmaund, ỹ for the giuing of his life, they ſhuld capitulate w̄ king Decebal, any thing ỹ were vile or againſt honour. This Romaine

maine ſtraũge act of Longinus, gaue great admiration vnto friends and confederats, and did yeald great feare vnto the enimies : bycauſe he deliuered Traiane of care and thought, and for him ſelfe obteined perpetuall fame. King Decebal perceiuing the greateſt part of his kingdome to be taken and loſt, without all hope to recouer the ſame, eyther able to defende that which remained, determined to make ſlaughter of him ſelfe, ſome ſay with poyſon, ſome affirme that he drowned him ſelfe in water, other affirme, that he hanged him ſelfe: finally, he was found dead without any wounde : whoſe head Traiane commaunded to be cut off, and to be ſent vnto Rome.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the great buildings that Traiane made in the kingdome of Datia.

THe vnfortunate king Decebal being dead , and all the whole lande in Traianes power, he made it a Prouince: which is to ſay, he did take away the title of kingdom, and the preeminence of gouernement by Conſuls : and gaue order to be gouerned by Pretors , and to be called a Prouince. Traiane remoued a greate number of the inhabitants of Italie in that countrie : but many more he brought out of that countrie, to be placed in Italie : and this he did as a man of great iudgement : bycauſe in diſplacing the one, he obteined ſure poſſeſſion of the kingdom: and remouing the other, of neceſſitie they muſt liue as others did liue in the Romaine Empire. When the capteine Longinus dyed, he left a brother yonger of age, but equall in force and valiauntneſſe, whome Traiane made Pretour of Datia, and gaue vnto him for euermore the caſtle where his brother dyed : ſaying vnto him, of two cauſes, the one is for thyne owne vertue and valiauntneſſe, and the other, bycauſe thy brother Longinus did ſerue me.

Traiane

Traiane caused great search to be made for the body of his capteine Longinus: vnto whome he caused to be erected such and so sumptuous a sepulchre, that it was to be douted, whether he would haue giuen him so great riches for seruice if he had liued, as he spent in making that sepulchre. In all the kingdome of Datia, there was no knight or Gentleman that had any rents, but only the king: whereof the king gaue vnto euerie man as he did serue and deserue: whereof it followed, that the kingdome being so opulent, the king obteined great riches, welth, and power. Whē Traiane came the second time into Datia, king Decebal had great riches both of gold & siluer: not only for the great rents which he receiued throughout his kingdome, but that also he exacted of his subiectes great sūmes of money. King Decebal being doubtfull vnto what destinies
" he and his kingdome were committed, determined to burie all his treasure in a riuer, which he remoued out of his
" naturall chanell, and in the greatest depth therof, he made
" sepulchres of stone to burie his saide treasure: whiche be-
" ing done, he returned the riuer into his olde chanell, which
" was named Sargetia: and to the end that no man shoulde
" discouer this secrete, he commaunded to murder all that
" were present at the hiding thereof. But to small purpose,
" for that a fisher, which at that time did fish the riuer, disco-
" uered the whole matter vnto Traiane: in suche manner,
" that there is nothing so much hidden, that humaine coue-
" tousnes doth not discouer. Those treasures being brought into Traianes power, he diuided thereof amongest his armies, vnto euerie man according to the merites of his seruice: and of his owne share, the first that he commaunded was, to builde a most sumptuous temple vnto the God Iupiter: wherein he left prouided, that for him selfe and the people of Rome, yearely sacrifice to be offered. He re-edified there also the royall house, that is to say, where the kings of Datia did vse to be resident: whiche for the antiquitie thereof was somewhat decayed, and through continuall warres, not well repayred: a worke most certeinely

delec-

table to behold, and pleasant to dwell in. He repaired also many decayed bridges and mylles, vpon high wayes he renued their broken calseys in all places, he did build newe houses, and reedified others infinite that were burnt. He brake and made plaine many wayes vpon the sharpe moũtaines, and raysed many newe fortes, and renued the old: finally, you might hardly trauell a league throughout all the kingdome, wherein shoulde not be found some notable worke of Traiane. Not yet all satisfied, he built vpon the riuer of Danubie a bridge of stone, which was so curious in the building, and so costly in the making, that fewe works did match it, but none did passe it. That bridge contained twentie arches in length, and euery piller of one square stone, and the arches were of the height of an hundred and fiftie foote, wrought without cymet, and the distaunce betwixt the pillers, were a hundred threescore and two foote: and the breadth of the arches aloft was fortie foote: and aboue all the rest, the singularitie of the mould and fashion was to be considered, and the richnesse of the stone to be regarded: bycause the stone was of such glosse, that in iudgement it deserued to be set in plate. It seemed incredible to mans iudgement, for a bridge to be made vpon that riuer: bicause the streame was broad, deepe, in course very swifte, and aboue all the rest, on no side it might be turned out of his chanell, to the end it might be drie at any time to lay the cymet. That building was so extreme, or to say better, so monstrous, that it needed to make experiẽce of al high iudgements and capacities, and the Romaines there to shewe their strengthes, and Traiane there to spend his treasure: bicause in the worke there required great potencie, and in the order thereof great industrie: it is verie small that the penne can magnifie, in respect of the wonder which he seeth that beholdeth the same: for the better credite therof, at these dayes the pillers giue a muster vpon the fierce waters: declaring the pryde of his power, and the riches of the emperour. Traiane would with that edifice giue terrour vnto the liuing, and admiration to his

posteritie,

posteritie, to giue manifest argument, that any thing may not be so impossible, eyther so hard, that with mans hand may not be enterprised, and with ỹ riches of Rome might not be finished. The cause that moued Traian to build this costly bridge, so monstrous, was, as they say, to the end the barbarous people on the other side Danubie, might come to fight wt the Romaines, although the riuer were ouerflowen: and also that the Romaines that remained there, shuld not giue them selues to pleasure and idlenesse, when they considered them selues to be in the eye of the enimie. The Emperour Domitian had no suche mynde and valiantnesse: whiche for feare that the barbarous people should come to fight with the Romaine hoast, cõmaunded the arches of that bridge to be ouerthrowne: in such wise, that the one made a bridge to prouoke the enimie to fight, and the other did raze the same for feare of battell.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the seconde entring of Rome by the Emperour Traiane, and the notable thing which he did in the same.

In finishing the warrs, in giuing order for the Prouince, in diuiding the countries, and in yealding perfection vnto all his workes and buildings, Traiane was deteined in Datia more then three yeares: in which as he after did report, great were the trauels and perils wherein he did see his person, and not small were the expences that he made of his goods. The victories that Traiane had obteined, being knowne vnto the Barbarians that did inhabite the other side of Danubie, the mightie buildings that he had made, the great rewardes that he had giuen, and the clemencie that with prisoners he had vsed, sent their ambassadours vnto Traiane: who with verie good will did set down with him a perpetual peace & amitie, & bound them selues

selues to kéepe and defend for him the kingdome of Datia. Incredible was the loue that all those nations did beare vnto Traiane, which was well knowne when he departed from that countrie to goe vnto Rome: in that by all cities where he did passe, and by all wayes where he did trauell, so great were the teares and cries vttered by all persons, that it seemed the grounde to tremble. In respect of the great largesse and prowesse that Traiane had perfourmed in those Prouinces, it was no maruell that his departing was so bewailed: bicause with his great benefites, he had won their hearts, and with his great and sumptuous buildings he had ennobled his people. Vniuersally of al friends and enimies, neuer prince as Traiane was so much feared in warres, either loued in peace. The cause wherby Traiane obteined so great loue, and to be so well liked, and in such especial grace with al men, was, that with his frends he neuer vsed negligence, and also in readinesse and straite reckoning with his enimies: in such wise, that such as stod in his disgrace by his wordes, they had to vnderstand therof: but vnto such as did bende to serue him, both in worde and déede he did manifest the same. They were infinite that praised Traiane, in that he had ben pitiful with them, but none did cõplaine ý he had found him ingrate. Ennius Priscus, a noble & auncíẽt Romaine demaũded of ý emperour Traiane, by what meanes more then all other Princes past, of all men he had obteined so speciall loue and lyking: Traiane did answere, for that naturally I delight to pardon such as do offende me, and neuer forget such as do serue me. And truly Traiane saide most truthe: that loue and hatred haue their beginning of thankfulnesse and ingratitude: bycause there is no enimie so fierce or cruel, as he which in time past we held for a friend, being remoued by vnkindnesse. All things as concerning Datia, being dispatched, Traiane returned to Rome. If the triumphes of the first warres were great, when king Decebal was ouercome, muche greater were the triumphes of the second warres, when he was slaine.

The

The feasts of the triumphes of Datia, endured an hundred and twentie dayes: in which were slaine an hundred Lions, and of other wilde beastes an hundred thousande, which is to vnderstande, Deare red and vallo, Tygres, Bulles, Leopards, Wolues, Beares, Unicornes, Beares, Panthers, Eliphants, Camels, Dunces, and many other such straunge beastes taken & brought from the deserts of Africa, and the great India. The feastes of the triumphe being finished, presently Traiane commaunded to be made great sacrifices vnto the Godds, in remuneration of the great perils frō which they had deliuered him, and for the great triumphs which they had giuen him. He commaunded newe temples to be made, one vnto the vnknowne God to the Romaines, another vnto the God Mars, whiche was the God of the Datians. He commaunded greate summes of money to be giuen to the Priestes of the temples: vnto the end they should offer daily sacrifice vnto the Gods, for the health and prosperitie of his kingdomes: and also to repaire & ennoble their temples. At his cōming frō Datia, whē Traiane passed the riuer Rubicon, being detained an whole day for want of passage, imediately vpon his cōming to Rome, he sent money & workemen to make a bridge ouer that riuer: whiche was more profitable, although not so sumptuous as the bridge made ouer Danubie. In the marishes of Pontaine, Traiane did rayse and make a calsey both long and large of stone, a worke right profitable and necessarie, although not a little costly: for where as afore there was but water and myre, there succéded houses and inhabitants. In those dayes there dyed in Rome, a certaine Physician named Suras Lycinus: in whose death Traiane did vtter great sorrowe, vnto whom he commaunded his picture to be aduaunced in the place, and a riche sepulchre to be erected in the field of Mars.

There was in Rome two speciall men learned in letters, and vertuous in manners: whiche were perfect friendes of Traiane, and in the common wealth much estéemed: the one was named Palma, and the other Celsus: vnto these

he

he gaue many and great offices of honour, and in the place did erect vnto them pictures of Alabaster. Traiane made in Rome many and great Librarie: wherein he did place bookes of al sciences, and of all languages, where strangers might reade, and citizens learne. Where so euer Traiane entered, were it within the Empire, or in a straunge kingdome, he was alwayes curious, in causing search for fiue things: that is to say, horses of good race, learned men of good inclination, newe armour, faire women, and auncient bookes. All these things, or which soeuer of them, were neyther lost by any negligence: or left vnbought for any money. In the place named Datia, Traiane erected a certaine most highe piller, a worke most certainely being of one stone right stately, and to behold, in breadth and height of great wonder. It is not written from whence that piller was brought vnto Traiane, neyther for what intent he did raise the same in that place: but as some doe gesse, he ment vpon the toppe thereof to haue placed his sepulchre: others sayde, to no other ende, but to perpetuate his memorie.

CHAP. XV.

Containing what Traiane did in Sicyl, in Africa, and in Spaine.

TRaiane being soakte with delight in the buildinges of Rome, Rufus Galba Pretour of Africa did aduertise, that all Africa was escandalized, by meanes of cruell warres, betweene the Numidians and the Mauritans. These newes being heard in the Senate, they say that Traiane sayde. The warre grieueth me, but the occasion to passe into Africa doth muche please me: for that many

dayes past I haue desired to sée the famous fieldes of Carthage, where Scipio in so shorte space obteined for him selfe immortall renoune, and Hanibal lost that in one day, whiche he had gotten in sixténe yeares in Italie. Traiane departed from Rome by the waye of Sicyl: where he stayed al the Winter, and to auoyde idleneſſe he scarsely lefte any place in the whole Iſlande personally vnuiſited, none that were then aliue in Sicyl, might remember to haue séene any Romaine Prince within the same: for whiche cause Traiane founde many thinges to be repayred in the walles, and muche more to be amended in their customes and manners. Traiane being informed, that many straunge shippes did lurke in the hauen of Mecina to spoyle, and many pyrates barkes did haunt and retyre vnto the same, to execute their robberies, in his owne person went to the viewe thereof, and at his owne coste commaunded three bulwarkes to be made, at the mouth of the hauen: whiche eyther for want of diligence of the one part, or to muche malice on the other side, the case was thus: that before it coulde be finished, the pyrates had ouerthrowne it. Amongeſt the Panormitains, whiche be they of Palermo, and the inhabitaunts of Mecina, of olde time had continued great contention: betwixt whome Traiane not without great trauell, determined & finished all quarelles and debates: and brought to passe, that from thence forth they continued in great friendshippe. To the ende to perpetuate that peace, and to rote vp all passions and vnkindneſſe of that Iſlande by the rotes: to the principall both of the one and the other, Traiane gaue pensions out of his owne house, and daily did cause them to eate at his owne table. In Palermo, Mecina, and Tatania, Traiane commaunded seuerall temples to be made: and the Gods to whom those temples should be dedicated, the inhabitaunts to make choice. Traiane renued in Sicyl the kinde and race of good horſes, reedified the decayed walles, melted all counterfet money, erected newe castles, builded stately temples, set peace and established quiet-

neſſe

nesse amongest the mutined cities, & gaue many great re-wardes : although no liberties vnto the people. Traiane being demaũded why he gaue no liberties vnto the Sicylians, as he gaue vnto other kingdomes : answered, bycause seruitude doth conserue them, and libertie destroy them.

The Winter being past, and the Spring come, Traiane passed into Africa, and did lande in the hauen, where olde Carthage in time past was situate : & not finding one stone vpon an other, to giue testimonie of the foundation thereof: they say ỹ he sayd. It grieueth me that Carthage so greatly resisted Rome: but it more forethinketh me, that Rome shoulde not be satisfied, but with the totall destruction thereof. In the place where olde Carthage stode, Traiane did builde a castle more faire then strong, and erected therein two counterfets, the one of Hanibal the Carthaginian, and the other of Scipio the African: but presently vpon his departing from that countrie, the pyrates layde it flat on the earth . Incontinent after Traiane had arriued into Africa, there grewe a generall pestilence throughout the same, for whiche cause he coulde neyther goe to sée that he desired, eyther perfourme that whiche he determined. And as the pestilence grewe so cruel, Traiane was constrained to retyre vnto ỹ port of Bona, which was somwhat more sound: and from thence he sent for the principals of the Numidians, and also of the Mauritans: who incontinently in presence of Traiane, were made friends, and left and committed into his onely handes all their affaires. Amongest all the Princes of this worlde, Traiane obteined this excellencie : That neuer man came into his presence, that denied him that, whiche he craued, eyther disobeyed him wherein he commaunded : bycause in his commaundements hee was verie wise, and in requesting verie humble. Traiane thought to haue stayed in Africa, more then two yeares, and yet remained there but foure monethes: and as he sayde afterwardes, that if the pestilence had giuen no impediment, he would of him self haue

leste as great memoriall in Africa, as he did in Datia. Traiane toke sayle at the porte of Bona, and came by the streightes to Cadix, whiche is nowe called Calize, a citie of Spaine: wherein he had beene bred, and from whence being a verie young man he had departed. Traiane gaue many Priuileges vnto the Gauditains, as vnto his naturall frendes: amongest whiche, two were most notable: namely, that they shoulde be citizens of Rome, and paye no custome or tribute, for any merchandize whiche they transported. Traiane did builde in Calize a most sumptuous temple vnto God Genius: whiche the Romaines helde for the God of byrthe. He made also a calsey of stone along the shoare: but it was not all finished, when by the furie of the water it was all destroyed. He intended to repayre the pillers of Hercules, whiche by their great antiquitie were then consumed: and being persuaded by certaine persons to erect others in his owne name, to the ende that in time to come, they might be called the pillers of Traiane, and not of Hercules: he answered: that whiche I ought to doe is, that as Hercules came from Græcia vnto Spaine, to obtaine honour: so ought I from Spaine to goe into Græcia to winne fame.

Traiane commaunded the bridge of Alcantara in Spaine to be made, a worke that lasteth to this our age: wherein concurreth statelinesse, subtiltie, cunning, and proûte. He made another bridge vpon the riuer Teio, neare vnto Ystobriga, and is the bridge that nowe is broken, at the bankes of Halconeta. Traiane commaunded the way named Publius to be continued, being the waye that nowe is called in Spaine, the Calsey, that goeth from Ciuil vnto Salamanca: and is named the Publian waye, whiche is to say, the waye of Publius: for that the firste that beganne the same, was Publius Fabatus, one of the Consuls that fought with Viriato. That which Traiane made of that calsey, little more or lesse, was from the Casar of Casares, vntil within a league of ỹ vents of Capara,

which

whiche be lodging or bayting places: and so to be vnderstoode, not bicause the histories do clearely report thereof, but by the pillers which vpon that way be erected: which say in their grauen letters, that they were placed there in the dayes of Traiane. And he that will be curious to goe and see, (as I many times haue gone to see and reade, and also to measure:) shal finde within the sayde boundes, the name of no other Prince but of Traiane: and before the Casur which is a towne, neyther after the vents of Caparra, which be lodgings, vpon no piller shall they finde Traiane written. The cause wherefore the Consul Publius Fabatus did raise that calsey, was to make a diuision betwixt the Vetical Prouince, which is Andaluzia, and the Prouince of Lusitania, which is Portugal: diuiding from Ciuil to Salamanca, all on the left hand of the calsey in olde time being Lusitania, and all on the right hande Andaluzia. Betwixt the Proconsul of Betica, and the Proconsul of Lusitania, there did arise great contention, vppon the diuision of their boundes: whereupon this large and sumptuous calsey was erected and perfourmed. Upon the riuer of Gadiana, Traiane commaunded a long bridge to be made, on the middest whereof he built a market place for the merchants of both people, to trade and concurre. This bridge appertaineth to the citie of Merida, which at this day appeareth verie large, and had in the middest thereof a diuision, stretching vppe into the riuer, the hurle of a stone, whiche on both sides came backe vnto the bridge, continued, directed, and sustained by walles, in the compasse wherof was the place or market. When the Greeks did first giue foundation vnto Merida, they made therein two streates, and the riuer Gadiana betwixt them both, and where Merida nowe standeth, was the stronger, and that on the other side the riuer was more delectable: in suche wise, that they helde the one to retyre vnto in time of warre: and the other to delight in time of peace. As the Consul Publius Fabatus made diuision of Portugal and Andaluzia, the streate on the other side the

riuer fell to the Prouince of Lusitania, and the streate which is nowe Merida, fell to the Prouince of Betica, and frō thencefoꝛth there was alwayes betwixt thē great contention: in such wise, that they ouerthꝛew the bꝛidge that stoode in the middst of the citie, and the coyne that in times past had ben currant, they made of no value betwixt them. This good Emperour Traiane, meaning to cut off these so old enimities, made in ỹ midst of the citie, vpon Gadiana the bꝛidge that nowe is: and to remoue all quarels foꝛ walking in eache others streates, he made a market place in the midst of the bꝛidge, where they should congregate, talk, and traffike of their merchandize. The pꝛosperitie of Merida continued, vntil the time that the Gothes entered Spaine: whiche holding warre with the Silingues, being in those dayes Loꝛdes of Andaluzia: foꝛtifying them selues in Merida, by the Gothes were there ouercome, and those generous, sumptuous, and auncient buildings, thꝛowen flat vpon the earth. In no citie of all Europe, did ioyntly concurre foure buildings, suche as Merida helde: that is to say, a stately college, certaine conduites and arches foꝛ conueyaunce of waters, a temple of Diana, and a bꝛidge that contained a great and large market place: which continued in building many yeares, and perished in one day.

CHAP. XVI.

Howe Traiane did passe out of Spaine, into Asia, and the manner that he vsed in the warres.

AFter that Traiane had visited in Spaine the Prouince of Betica, of Lusitania, and the Prouince of Carpentania, he came thꝛough the pꝛouince of Tarragona: in which yere in the whole land, there was great scarsitie of bꝛead: wherby Traiane was constrained to shoꝛten his iourney, and to hasten his imbarkage: in such manner, that the pestilence dꝛaue him out of Africa, and hūger out of Spaine.

Traiane

Traiane departed Spaine, with determination not to stay, vntill his arriuall in Asia, and there to take the way vnto ỹ greater Armenia: would neuer take land in any porte of Italie, but passing like pylgrimes, made no stay, but onely to renue their victuals. All those whiche trauelled with Traiane, were astonied to sée him passe the portes of his kingdomes, as if it had bene the lande of enimies. Traiane had a capteine named Valerius Gracchus: vnto whom the Emperour did beare speciall affection, and did estéeme him as a kinsman: vnto this man they say, that Traiane sayd, in great secrecie. If I had found warres in Sicyl, Africa, or Spaine, as I found in Datia, whereby I might haue obteined some victorie, I woulde not haue passed without landing in Italie: but since it is thus come to passe, I sweare by the immortall Gods, to set no foote a land in Italie, vntil I deserue to enter triumphing into Rome. High & verie high were these wordes, worthy and right worthy to be written in the hearts of Princes: to beholde this Prince that banished him selfe from the delightes of his own proper kingdomes, to séeke fame in straunge landes. With great determination Traiane did enterprise ỹ voyage into Armenia, wherin he entered, making cruell war: taking occasion of ỹ king of Armenians, which refused to confesse to haue receiued his kingdome from the Romaines, but of the king of Parthians. Traiane not satisfied to make war vpon the Armenians, but also entered the landes and territories of the Parthians: bicause in the most principall Prouince of Trapa, he deteined his armie more then three monethes. Parthurus king of Parthians, a man of great yeares, beholding the warres offered him by the enimie, determined to present peace vnto Traiane: who being demanded of his Parthians why he discouered so great feare within his owne kingdome: he made answere. If the wars were but armie against armie, the Parthians woulde not feare the Romaines: but we fight with the Emperor Traiane: vnto whome the Gods haue giuen so great fortune, that it farre exceedeth our great power.

Without consuming of many dayes, or imploying of many armies, the Parthians made peace with Traiane, and the Armenians did yeald them selues as ouercome. From Parthimisires king of Armenians, the kingdome was remoued, and both crowne and kingdome Traiane gaue with his owne handes vnto his sonne: and this he did, because king Parthimisires had sayd: that of the Parthians, and not of the Romaines, he was crowned king: in suche wise, that the good Traiane in remouing the kingdome frō the father, did execute iustice: and in giuing it to the sonne, gaue a shewe of his clemencie. Traiane was not satisfied, that the Parthians shoulde haue peace, and become tributaries vnto the Romaines, but that king Parthurus by the handes of Traiane, must be crowned: and so it came to passe, that knæling vpon his knées, he receiued his crowne, kissed his hande, and consented to pay tribute. Traiane did marche through all those Prouinces and kingdomes, and vnto the kinges that did yeald obedience, benignly he did intreate them, and in their kingdomes did confirme them: and vnto suche as did vse resistaunce, vnto others he gaue their kingdomes, and sent them prisoners vnto Rome. Traiane helde for custome, that in all principall cities of kingdomes or Prouinces: that he had taken by force of armes, he did commaunde to erect a most strong castle, wherevnto his armies did repayre: and a right sumptuous temple, wherein to worshippe the Goddes of Rome. As Traiane did passe and trauell, visite and conquere all the thrée partes of the world, that is to say, Asia, Africa, and Europa: in all which countries he did trauell to leaue of him selfe immortall fame: the testimonie wherof maketh it credible, that all the Romaine princes ioyntly haue not erected so many buildings, as Traiane onely did performe. Traiane did leade his armies verie well furnished, ordered, corrected, and also in great subiection: & this procéeded, that alwaies in his own person he did accōpany the same, and helde them both paide and rewarded: for as he did vse to say, The hoast that of his owne proper

Prince

Prince is not visited and paide, is sildome or neuer in subiection. When Traiane was in the warres, in his feeding and apparel, he did rather seeme a companion, then an emperour of Rome: for that sildome he went vnarmed, and many were the dayes wherein he did eate standing. Hauing a bodie somewhat drie and of great sinowes, he was moste patient in tedious trauaile of warres: that is to say, in suffering hunger, colde, thirste, wette, snowe, heate, & perils, whiche he refused not as a cowarde, but sought thē out as one of a valiant mind: for ỹ in all hazardes & perils, he neuer saide vnto his captaines, go: but, let vs go: do: but, let vs do: fight: but, let vs fight. He gaue in charge vnto his armies, not to attempt to burne houses, set fire in corne, ouerthrowe milles, or cut downe orchardes: affirming, that these thinges are to be obteined, but not destroyed. Whē Traiane would take any citie, he did not implove his force in any thing more, then to depriue the enimies of their waters. In the campes of his enimies, he did cause to be sowen false newes: that is to wite: that if he had victuals, to saye, that he wanted: that if he had money, to saye, it was spent: that if he had muche people, that they were gone: that if he would shortly giue an assault, to saye, that he would departe: and by this meanes he brought his enimies into negligence, while in meane time he did fortifie his armies. Traiane was of greate liberalitie vnto such as discouered the enimies secretes: and ioyntly therewith, of no lesse prouidence, for the entering of spies within his campes. When he helde warre with any citie or countrye, he did not permitt his souldiers to spoile the borders thereof: for he helde opinion, that smal profit might rise to spoile the poore villages: and greate hurte and offence vnto the armies, by want of victuals. Unto a captaine that toke a ploughman, & kilde his two Oxen at the ploughe, Traiane commaunded to be banished with great ignominie, and to giue the ploughman his horse, his armour, and all his wages that was due. For no fault Traiane commaunded any man to be slaine in the

warres, but onely him that slept being of the watche, or the captaine that ranne awaye out of the battel, or did rauishe any woman. Traiane was so pitifull, that vsually he did pardon all negligences, especially in the warres, except two faultes which he did neuer remitt, that is to say, such as blasphemed the Gods, and rauished women. Traiane was verie diligent and careful in visiting his camps, and to keepe a reckoning of all his armies: and this he did to the ende that no vagabonds should wander amongest them: in such wise, that no man went to the warres, that did not beare armour, and go to the battell. Traiane held in his armies maisters of all exercises to teache the young men the arte of knighthod, that is to saye, howe to playe at the sworde, to shoote in the crossebowe, to runne an horse, to skale a wall, to mine a castell, to wrastle with the enimie, to swimme ouer a riuer: finally, the greatest of Traianes exercise was, to augment and nobilitate his armie and knighthod.

CHAP. XVII.

¶Of the honourable titles that the Romaines sent vnto Traiane, and of the earthquake of Antioche.

THE Romaines did much desire, that when Traiane did saile from Spaine into Asia, that he should haue landed in Italie: but when they vnderstode of the great victories and prosperities which he had receiued in Asia, great was the ioye and sportes which were done at Rome. In times past, some Princes ouercame the Parthians, and others of them were ouercome: but neuer prince, as Traiane, did make them by feare yeald vp their kingdome: and that of his owne will, knæling vppon his knées, would by a Romaine Prince be crowned. The Parthians were a people so vntameable to be subdued, that they saide of thē selues: the Gods could absolutely confound them: but impossible for men to ouercome them. Many dayes they were debating in the Senate vpon determination, of the manner of thankes

thankes which they should write vnto Traiane, and what ensignes of honour they should sende vnto him: since by his vertue they were all honoured, and by his valiant actes, feared throughout the worlde. All the Senate came to consent to one aduice, the which in dæde was very generous and noble: that is to vnderstande, that all maner of coyne should be melted within the Empire, and made a certeine newe money in the name of Traiane: wherein Traiane was ingrauen, and in the compasse thereof, these letters were written: Imp. Vlp. Tr. Opti. Da. Parth. P. P. Tr. P. Con. 2. Sem. Aug. Which is to saye: this is the Emperour Vlpius Traianus, which was verie good, and right fortunate: he ouercame the Parthians, triumphed ouer the Datians, father of the countrie, tribune of the people, two times Consul, his memorie shalbe immortal. Great was the ioy ȳ Traiane receiued, when he sawe that money which the Senate had made: and when he read the writing therin conteined: but of all the titles whiche they gaue him, he glozied in none so much as to intitle him Imperator optimus, that is to saye: best Emperour: for he affirmed, ȳ all other titles he had obteined by armes, but this other with vertues. For defence of colde, & prouision of victuals, Traiane retired in Winter vnto the citie and prouince of Antioche: where whiles he remained, suche & so fierce an earthquake happened, as neuer in the worlde past was euer heard or seene. The chaunce was thus, that on the 22. day of October, before the breake of the day, soudenly there rose such winde & storme so extreme & impor-
tune, that puld vp trees, beate downe birdes, threw down tiles, & shoke the houses: forthwith it began to lighten and thunder, & did so sparckle and flame, that being night, it seemed to be broade daye. After the thunder and lightening, presently did followe so terrible tempestes and flashinges of fire, which with their furious violence, brake downe statelye houses, set hilles on fire, kild men at the soudeine: finally, it seemed not, but that all the world was on fire, and that the earth did open. And if the earth were

afflicted,

» afflicted, no doubt but the Sea was cruelly tormented:
» for the waters began to swell, the windes to alter, fishes
» to be troubled, the ayre to be darkened: and that which
» seemed moste terrible, the waters did so yell, roare, braye,
» and rage, as if they had bene wilde, fierce, & moste cruell
» beastes: presently vppon the souden there followed, suche,
» and so straunge a heate, that it constrained al men to giue
» aire vnto their breastes, vnbuckle their gyrdle, to throwe
» off their cloathes, to mount into galleries, their bodies to
» sweate: and that which was worste of all, that if they
» went forth into the ayre, the violence thereof did ouer-
» throwe them: if into the sea, the rage therof did drowne
» them. As the windes did vse their furie so straunge or
» neuer seene, and the earth so parched and dryed by the
» drought of the Summer, they raised so sharpe a dust, that
» the ayre seemed to be farsed or compound with dust. The
» matter was marueilous monstruous, and terrible to be-
» holde: the ayre so thicke with dust, the Seas to yell and
» roare, the windes in so furious combat, that one might
» not see another, that they durst not open their mouthes,
» neither drawe breath at their nostrils: for so greate was
» the dust that they did swallowe and receiue into their bo-
» dies, that soudeinly they fell downe dead vppon the earth.
» All these calamities, and marueilous wonders, were no
» doubt verie fearefull: but vniuersally not so daungerous:
» for although many did perishe, many also were saued.
» Then presently began the earth to quake so strangely and
» vnusually, that olde houses did fall, walles did open, tow-
» ers did cleaue, the monuments did rent, and stones did en-
» counter eche other. In some places, the houses were vt-
» terly ouerthrowne, in other partes halfe throwne down,
» in other places walles opened, in other some places trées
» pulde vp by the rootes, domesticall beastes slaine: finally,
» there was no streete in the whole citie, wherein the earth
» quake had not vsed his violence. If such destruction was
» executed amongest trées and stones: howe great was the
» calamitie that passed amongest men? the case was right

lamen-

lamentable to heare men crye, women scriche, children waile, beastes howle and braye, one crossing and encountering another, some dead, some with broken heades, some with broken legges, some lamed in their armes, and some striken cleane through the bodie. At suche time as these thinges did chaunce, great numbers of people were come from all the partes of the worlde vnto Antioche, some to see Traiane, some to aske iustice; some that went to the warres, some brought prisoners, and others that were straungers: and in so great a multitude, there was no man that escaped either deadly wounded or hurte, except one woman and one slaue. Vppon that night of the earth quake, Traiane was lodged in a place of pleasure without the citie, who leaping out at a windowe, not with such speede, but that he was hurte on his right arme not able to saye of the cause, whether it proceeded, of timber, tile, or stone. Traiane was so terrified with the earthquake, that all the time in which he staide at Antioche, he would not remaine in any house, but in the fieldes in a tent, wherein he did eate and sleepe. Many dayes after these thinges did passe, certeine persons walking to behold the falne houses, heard the voice of a woman: and digging very deepe, they found a woman and her childe, that vnder the hollownesse of a vawt were escaped: a thing admirable, how the mother without meate so long time, might haue milke to nourishe her childe. In reedifying of other houses, they found a dead woman, and a liue childe sucking the brest. At the time of the earthquake in Antioch, the mountaine Caucasus did so open and tremble, that all the cities adioyning, doubted to be ouerwhelmed with the fal therof. Running riuers of immortall memorie became drye. Springs neuer seene or heard of, did flow & remaine, and olde fountaines for euermore dried vp; many hilles made plaine, and many vallies made euen. Finally, there was no house in Antioche, or within the compasse of the territories therof, that was not totally destroyed, or changed after a maner into some other order or fashion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ Howe Traiane subdued Assyria, and what he did in Babylon.

NOwe when Summer was come, Traiane prepared to departe the confines of Antioche towardes the iourney of Assyria, to conquer that countrie, if that by peace they did not yeald the same: and being arriued at the great riuer Euphrates, he found the ships burnt, all the bridges broken, and all the Barbarians in armes, with a minde to dye, or to defend their countries. The Barbarians vnderstanding of Traians approche, made an vtter spoile of all their woods, to remoue all meanes of renuing their nauie, or to reedifie bridges. Traiane had intelligence that farre from thence, certeine shippes vppon the hill Nisibin were a making, whiche presently he sent for, and brought in cartes, and in very shorte space, a flote vppon Euphrates rigged and armed. The riuer Euphrates being passed, Traiane founde another riuer named Pesin, ioyning vnto the hill Cardius, which also was of great strength, and almost impassable, but Traiane brake vp his shippes, and once more by land did carrie the same vnto that riuer: wherin he fought with the Barbarians that defended their bankes. And as they after reported, vtterly determined rather to dye, then to submitt themselues to subiection. But that they conceiued, Traiane to be no mortall man, which would fight against them, but some of the immortall Gods that came to destroye them: moued thereunto, in beholding Traians readie carriage for shippes by lande, as they had by Sea. That countrie was named the prouince of Adiabena: which being all ouerrunne & brought vnder subiection: he passed vnto Arbela, and vnto Anguaguemela two most opulent prouinces, in whose fieldes, in the

the olde worldes past, the greate king Darius, was ouercome of Alexander Magnus. Traiane spent all that Summer in conquering those prouinces: whiche although they differ in names, yet differ not in seignorie, because they be alwayes annexed vnto the kingdome Assyria, whiche the Barbarians changing the S. into T. do call the same Atyria. And nowe when Summer began to decline, Traiane determined to winter at Babylon: in all which way he neither found enimies that did resist him, either friends to accompany him: because those desertes be so solitarie and dry, that hardly bruite beastes be found in the same. Before Traiane did enter Babylon, he would first perso- » nally see the lake of Bytamin: the water whereof hath » this propertie, that bricke, tile, sande, lime, or chalke, that » is tempered therewith, maketh a cyment thereof so harde » and strong, that yeldeth not vnto stone or yron. With this » water the tiles and brickes were made, and all other ma- » ter tempered, that did erect all ỹ walles of Babylon. Also » Traiane went to see the caue where ỹ water came soaking » forth, whereout proceeded a stench so pestilential, that » kilde all cattel that came neare thereunto, and all birdes » that did flye ouer the same. Men that passe that waye » dare not venter the viewe thereof, muche lesse to approch » the smell, except the Eunuches that be gelded, which feare » not to beholde, neither are indaungered by the sauour.

Traiane might not be satisfied with the view and contemplation of Babylon, muche delighting to viewe the infinite antiquities therein conteined, and had thereof great compassion: and also saide it many times, howe many and howe renowmed Princes had consumed there their treasure, and imployed the chiefest parte of their life, to perpetuate their fame, which were nowe forgotten, and their stately buyldings vtterly ruinated and falne downe.

Traiane attempted a certeine worke within that lande which did not onely excell all that he had done in Rome, Italie, Sicyl, Datia, and Spaine, but also all that Ninus, Belus, Semyramis, and Alexander had made in Babylon,

Traiane

Traiane was of so high thoughtes, and so singular in his conceites, which he attempted, and in his buyldings which he erected, he was not satisfied that others should thinke him equall with Princes past: but iudge and confesse him to be singular amongest the rest. The case was thus: he opened the mother of the riuer Tygris, and of the riuer Euphrates: & made from the one to the other, a great & a deepe chanell, to vnite them both into one streame: a thing for the present easie to be written, but at that time, verie terrible to beholde: because the chanell that Traiane caused to be made from the one riuer to the other, was so high, so large, and so deepe, that verie greate shippes might turne, saile, and ride at anchor. Vppon that chanell Traiane did builde a mosse stately and a right loftie bridge, a strong castell, a riche and sumptuous palace, and certeine gardeines and orchardes most pleasant, and on either side the riuer, he built faire houses to dwell in, and store houses for merchaunts: and to place there his perpetuall memorie, did name the same Traianicall Babylon. This buylding endured not long, and the cause thereof proceeded, that the riuer Euphrates had his channell more high then the riuer Tygris, whereby Tygris did increase, and Euphrates diminish: and the Babylonians doubted the one for want of water to be lost: and the other with the furie of the water to be destroyed. From Babylon, Traiane departed to the citie Tesiphont being the head of that prouince: which although some dayes it stode in defence of it selfe, in the ende it came to be yealded: and there it is said, that Traiane found so greate summes of money, that he had sufficient to pay his armies, to raise vp newe buyldings, and also to furnishe his treasurie. Greate were the newes that daily came to the Senate, of the marueilous victories which Traiane obteined throughout the worlde, and howe beyond all Princes past, he had augmented the Empire of Rome.

The inhabitants of Tesiphont were ignorant to sacrifice vnto the Gods, or to obserue feastes and holy dayes:

where-

whereupon Traiane commaunded to erect a temple vnto the greate God Iupiter, and gaue them instruction, what feastes they shoulde obserue, and howe they should sacrifice vnto their Gods.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ Howe Traiane, after great trauaile to passe into the Indiaes, was constreined to retire.

ALl these countries being ouercome and sett in order, Traiane determined to saile by the read Sea, which is very great, and runneth from the Ocean of the Indiaes, vnto Arabia, and is otherwise named the Sea Eritrean, in memorie of king Eritreus which in old time reigned there. The riuer Tygris in the discourse of his currant maketh an Ilande, conteinining rrr. miles in bredth, and lr. in length: wherein reigned Athabilus a Prince both proude and warlike: whome without armes Traiane brought vnder his Empire. The ayre of those Seas being different in nature from other Seas, and being then in the greatest heate of Summer, Traiane in that nauigation passed much trauaile and perill: and being persuaded by certeine to forsake the Sea, and take the land, aunswered: the vicious go from hence to Rome to seeke delight, and the vertuous come from Rome hither to seeke trauailes: bycause our predecessours in exchaunge of great trauailes, receiued great and glorious triumphes: wherefore I will neuer cease fighting for feare, either naulgation for perill or daunger. At the mouth of those Seas, there was a people named Sipasinos, so called of certeine fieldes whiche they helde: whether from manye partes they brought their heards to fede: these Sipasinos were subiects to king Athabilus: who vnderstanding of his submission vnto the Romaines, ioyntly with great good will came forth to receiue Traiane. Passing along those Ilandes, and all the ci-

ties along ỹ Sea coasts on either side being subdued, Traiane entred the Ocean Sea, and therewith vnderstanding the wracke & decaye of his shippes, the darkenesse of ỹ ayre, & his pylots to want experience vpon those coasts, he arriued to land to renewe his naue. Traiane was informed, ỹ those Seas were of such condition, that they endured not shippes made of straunge timber, but of wood of the Indies, for otherwise they did consume, or at times drowne them. The sorrowe of Traianes harte, might not be expressed, for that, to passe into the great Indies, he had no preparation, because of ỹ insufficiẽcie of his own ships, and want of timber of the Indies. And when Traiane saw his voyage to be frustrate & without remedie, they saye, ỹ he saide with a great sigh: Of all Princes past, onely vnto Alexander I giue the preeminence, for that he passed into the Indies: but if fortune had not hindered mee: him, as others, I woulde haue excelled: for I had a wil not only to conquer all the Indies, but therein to haue erected a newe Rome. All the time that Traiane stayed there, he gaue him selfe particularly to vnderstand of the state of al thinges in the greate Indiaes: that is to saye, what Gods they worshipped, what temples they helde, what kinges they obeyed, what dyet they vsed, what garmentes they did weare, howe they did fight, in what cities they did inhabite, wherein they were exercised: and howe muche the greater things they did report: so muche the more, the sorrowe of his heart did augment. From thence Traiane sẽt certeine messengers vnto Rome, with great riches for the treasurie: Also a memoriall of all the prouinces, kingdomes, Ilandes, nations, and people that he had subdued and takẽ, and brought vnder the Empire of Rome. Great ioy was receiued in Rome vpon the manifestation of these newes: no lesse wonderfull vnto the Romaines, to read so many, and so variable people to be ouercome by Traiane: because it was affirmed amongest them in the Senate of Rome, that none had sẽne them, either as muche as to haue heard of them. Presently they erected in Rome vnto Traiane an arche triumphant, wherin was graue n the

names

names of the kingdomes that Traiane had subdued, and
ỹ principall prouinces that he had taken: for if they shuld
haue placed them all, conformable vnto his memoriall,
they should want marble to be wrought, and workemen
to graue the same. When Traiane might not passe into
the great Indies, he came vnto the house of Alexander the
greate, where (as it was saide) he died: and there did
buylde all that by antiquitie was decayed & falne downe:
& also did adde other newe buyldings thereunto, & offered
riche sacrifices vnto the Gods, in memorie & reuerence of
Alexander. Traiane saylyng on the Ocean Sea towardes
the Indians, & the Tesiponts, supposing that he should ne-
uer returne into that prouince, determined to rebel, and
therwith slewe all the Romaines, that remained in garri-
son, & brought all their countrie in armes. Against these &
other people that rebelled, Traiane sent Maximinus and
Lucius wᵭ an armie of greate power, who fought most vn-
fortunatly: for that ỹ one fled, & the other died. He that es-
caped was Lucius, who to reformme all faultes past, toke
the citie of Nisibin & Edessa, which he destroyed & burnt wᵭ
fire, wherof Traiane was not a little offended: because in
the warres, he would not any spoile to be made by fire.
Eritius Clarus, & Alexander Seuerus, two Romaine Pre-
tours, made their entrie by Seleucia, whiche they totally
did sacke & destroy: being aduertised ỹ Traiane was drow-
ned at Sea, they rebelled & slewe ỹ Romaine magistrates.
Traiane doubting the rebellion of the Parthians, entred
their countrie, hauing inteiligence of the death of Parthu-
rus their king, & the alteration of their kingdom. Traiane
commaunded all the principals of Parthia to appeare be-
fore him, who assẽbled in the fields of Tesipont, where
Traiane being aduaunced did aduertise thẽ of his determi-
nation, which if they did admitt & consent vnto, they might
safely hold him for a pitifull father: and otherwise they
should finde him a most cruell enimie.

The Parthians iointly aunswered, that their desire
was much more to hold him as a father, then an enimie:
and did yelo themselues both to beleeue, and to obey him:

making their humble suite, to giue them no king, except he were a natiue of their kingdome: for that a straunger should want both loue and obedience. Presently Traiane toke a crowne in his handes and set it vppon the heade of Persnapate, declaring him to be their king and lorde, of which prouision they helde them selues marueilously wel pleased, for that he was not onely of their kingdome, and well knowen vnto them, but also bothe vertuous and warlike.

CHAP. XX.

¶ Howe Traiane comming from Asia to triumph in Rome, was staide by death in Sicyl.

THE land of Parthians being stayed & pacified, Traiane was in disposition to go to Rome: partly to rest, and to cease from trauile, and chiefely to triumph ouer so many nations and kingdomes: but being aduertised of the rebellion of the Agarens, and that the Romaine prætours were fledd: presently Traiane departed vnto the lande of Agarens, which is in Arabia, hauing a citie as principall of their prouince, very little, but marueilous strong: the destinie whereof was such, that being sieged by infinite Princes, was neuer taken or ouercome. For defence of that citie, the nature and situation of the countrie did not a litle helpe: for that the assailants had neither wood or timber to aduaunce their engins, either water or forage, for relefe of them selues or cattel: & the same vnto straungers not vsed thereunto, did rather seeme to burne, then to giue light. Traiane commaunded an assault to be giuen vnto the citie: the most valiant captaines being mounted vpon the wall, at an instant some were slaine, and some ouerthrowen. Traiane disguised, and in disposition to viewe the citie, was of the enimies both knowen, wounded, and his Squire slaine.

The

The Agarens beeing demaunded, if at that instant they had notice of the Emperours person: they answered, that his grauitie, and the maiestie of his presence did discouer his estate. Traiane being at that siege, there arose terrible lightening and thunder, which in that countrie was neuer seene: and besides, there descended vppon the Romaine campe flies so many & importune, that both their meate and drinke, and their owne persons, were continually couered with the same. Traiane considering the citie to be impregnable, did retire his armie. They saye, that he saide, at his retraite: Since the Agarens, with mine armies, either my wordes, be neither subdued or persuaded: the destinies haue reserued this triumph for some other Prince in the world to come. In the prouince of Cyrene, Traiane had a greate armie both of Greekes as of Romaines: and the pretor of those armies was a certeine Romaine named Andreas, against whome the Iewes of those partes did rebell, and slewe both captaine, Greekes, and Romaines. The Iewes were not onely contented to haue slaine the Romaines, but also brought the dead bodies vnto the shambles, and there did quarter, cut in peces, and solde by weight: & with no lesse appetite did eate that humaine flesh, then if it had bene hennes and fesants. Adding crueltie vppon crueltie, they brought forth certeine Romaines whiche they had in prison, and did wage one with another, a deneere, or a point, to strike off the head of a Romaine at a blowe. Another thing, not more vile then horrible, the Iewes committed vppon those miserable Romaines, that is, they fleyed them quicke, and tanned their shinnes for leather: and further, with greatest disgrace, did cut off their most shamefast partes, and plaide and tost them as a ball in the market place. As the Iewes left no Romaine vnslaine, so left they no crueltie or kind of death that they did not experiment: and in this matter, we haue no lesse to marueile, at ỹ hearts of the one to execute, then of the patience of the other to suffer. That which was don by ỹ Iewes of Cyrene, was executed by ỹ Iewes of Aegypt,

and of the Ilands of Cypres, who slewe all the Romaines within their common wealthes: which slaughter was no lesse, then 500000 Greekes and Romaines. When these sorrowfull newes came vnto Traiane, he was very sicke: but notwithstanding prouided what was conuenient for so desperate a case: and presently sent Lucius into Cyrene, Marcus into Cypres, and Seuerus into Aegypt: who committed so great spoiles among the people, and executed so cruell iustice vppon the inhabitants, that if the dead had beene liuing, they would haue yelded them selues for sufficiently reuenged. Elius Adrianus was captaine vnto Traiane for the guarde of Syria, and hearing what had passed in this matter, soudeinly he descended into Iurie, and did execute therein a greate slaughter: and they of Cypres, receiuing warning by this great treason, did ordeine that no Iewe shoulde dare to inhabite, or passe into that kingdome: and that if tempest shoulde bring them by chaunce into that Ilande, to haue no redemption therof, but by the losse of their heades.

Traiane naturally was alwayes of greate health: but
" in the trauaile of so many prouinces, following of so many
" warres, sayling vpon so many Seas, and enduring so ma-
" ny woundes, the griefe or disease of the piles did not a lit-
" tle vere him. But the case was thus: that from the daye
" that Traiane might not passe into the Indies, they neuer
" sawe health in his person, or ioy in his face. Through the
" cause or disease of the piles, at chaunge of weather, Tra-
" iane had a flure of bloude, which for his health was very
" profitable. Either by the colde which he had passed, or an-
" gers which in him selfe he suffered, or greate age, where-
" with he was laden: there increased vnto the good Prince,
" a Palma or nummesse of his arme, and his purgation by
" flure of bloud was stopped. Joyning vnto the citie of Se-
" leuca, there were certeine famous bathes, whereunto
" sicke people of all partes did concurre, whether Traiane
" did cause him selfe to be remoued, to make proofe for reco-
" uerie of his health. And as experience did after declare,

those

those bathes did not profite, but hinder: for being weake, consumed, and spent, although he had force to bathe, he had no strength to sweate. Nowe when Traiane sawe him selfe without hope of life, he wrote a letter vnto the Senate of Rome, commending the state of his house vnto Lucius, and the affaires of the warres vnto Elius Adrianus. He dyed in the citie of Seleuca which is in the prouince of Sicyl, which from thence forth was named Traginopolis, in the age of 63. yeres, and in the reigne of his Empire 21. yeres, 6. monethes, and 15. dayes.

¶ *The life of the Emperour Adrian:*

Compiled by sir Anthonie of Gueuara,
Byshoppe of Mondonnedo, Preacher, Chronicler, and Counseller vnto the Emperour Charles the fift.

(.·.)

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the linage from whence Adrian descended, and of the place and countrie where he was bred and nourished.

THE greate Emperour Traiane being dead, Adrian succeeded in the Empire: who was seruaunt, friend, and cousin of the saide Traiane. The beginning and linage of Adrian by the fathers side, was of Italie, borne in a citie named Hadra: and of the mothers side a Spaniard, borne at Cades, whiche nowe is named Calize, a citie of Andoloizia.

His fathers name was Elius Adrianus maried vnto a woman of Spaine named Domitia Paulina, a woman sufficient wise and faire, borne in the citie of Calize, shée was néece vnto the Emperour Traiane & his sisters daughter, whome he did much loue, for that of a childe shée was bred in his house. Adrian had a sister named Paulina, who was married vnto a Consul named Seuerinus: and the graundfather of Adrianus was named Marillinus, of the linage of the Priscans: which linage did not a little florishe in the time of the Scipions. Adrian was borne in Rome the 9. daye of Februarie, in the consulship of Vespasianus septimus, and Titus quintus: in the yere of the foundation of Rome 488. Adrian had an high bodie of perfecte proporcion, except his necke, which was somewhat stouping, his nose somewhat hawked, his face swart, his eyes more grey then blacke, his beарde blacke and thicke, his handes more of sinewes then of flesshe, his head great and round, and a broade forehead, a great signe (as he had) of greate memorie. When his father dyed he was but of ten yeres, who left him for tutors, Vlpius Traianus, and Celius Tatianus, the one béeing his vnckle, and the other his friend: effectually requesting to traine and instruct that childe in wisedome and valiantnesse: for that he had no lesse abilitie for the one then for the other.

At the age of tenne yeres, Adrian studied Grammar, and after his fathers death, his tutours set him to learne the Greeke tongue, wherein he was so learned and expert, that for excellencie therein, in Rome they named him the Greeke childe: for that he was as readie in the Greeke tongue, as others in the Romaine speache. At the age of xvi. yeares, he had a desire to passe into Spaine, to sée his olde countrie, he arriued at Calize, where his mother was borne, and from whence Traiane was native, and there leauing his letters, did exercise him selfe in armes: because in those dayes the Spaniardes had there a famous studie of science, and the Romaines helde there a schoole for the warres.

Adrian

Adrian bothe in leaping and running was verie light: wherein it is sayd of him, that he ranne for many wagers, and not a fewe times by running and leaping, did winne, to supply his necessitie. He greatly delighted to ride swift running horses, and did much presume, to iudge and make choyce of them: and after in his olde age, he would vaunt and say of him selfe, that he neuer roade in coche, mule, or other beast, but an horse. In the time of Adrian his youth, he was an enimie to idleneſſe, and also of them that were giuen therevnto: and many times sayde, that he remembred not since the age of tenne yeares, whether hee stoode still, or walked by the way, that he had not eyther a booke to reade in, or some weapõ to fight with. Adrian was naturally sharpe of wit, and of great life, most apparant, in that he was not satisfied, to knowe what some men did knowe: but trauelled to haue skill in all things that men vnderstoode: with Philosophers he woulde dispute, with maisters at weapons he woulde fight, with artificers he would worke, and with painters he would paint. Adrian did praise him selfe, and according to writings of olde time, he had great reason so to do: bycause there was no Art, science, occupation, or inuention in the worlde, that he knew not, or at the least did not trauell to knowe. When Adrian was young, he was but of small patience, for that he indured not any to excell him, neyther yet to compare with him: and rare was that quarell, which he did not make or mainteine. When Tatian, Adrians tutor, did reprehend him for his impatience, and bycause he was not mylde, as the young man his couſen Emilius, he made answere: My couſen Emilius is not patient, but for that he is a coward, and I by quarelling, am become valiaunt. Neyther being a childe, or growne to more yeares: Adrian vsed not to breake forth into foule wordes, although they sayde, or did him great iniuries: but indeede, although his toung were slowe, his handes were very ready. Adrian was of a sound bodie, except that sometimes he complained of his left eare, and that one of his eyes at times did water: but

two euils did not hinder his hearing, much lesse his sight.

CHAP. II.

Of some euill inclinations that possessed and had power in Adrian.

THe Emperour Adrian did muche delight in hunting, which he did not exercise in the plaines, but in mountaines, for he toke no care to flée with haukes, but to fight with fierce beastes, to make a shewe of his valiauntnesse. So giuen and so venterous was Adrian in his chace, that with great reason I will not say did reproue, but note, the time that he consumed: and that not onely for much time he spent therein, but for that many times he was in great daunger. It hapned somtimes, that in following the chace of wilde beasts, Adrian did lose himself, in those rough and craggie mountaines: wherof there folowed not a few times, that he would haue eaten if he had had breade, and woulde haue dranke, if he had had water. When he went to hunt, he carried his crosbowe to shote, his quiuer of quarels, and his wallet of victuals: and alwayes did place him, in the pace, where the beast should passe: and had so little feare, and so desirous of chace, that if it were a beare, he did execute some aduenture: and if it were a Lion, he did abide him. It is not read, that he slue any Lion, but one: but beares and other cruell beastes, that he slue with his owne hands, were infinite. Adrian followed most fiercely a certaine beast with so great desire, and did so trauel to attain the same, that he fell ouer a rocke, put his shoulder out of ioynt, brake one of his legs, and cast much bloud out of his mouth. In the Prouince of Misia, Adrian built a citie, which he did name The chace of Adrian, bicause there he vsed to pitch his Pauilion, and from thence at mornings he went forth to hunt, and at night did returne to bed. He had an horse very ready for hunting, which would staye and make ready as a man, when he vnderstode the chace comming: and therewithall ranne as sure downe the hill, as vp the hill. This horse was named Borystenes, which being deade, Adrian did not only cause to be buried with much

muche honour, but also commaunded for the same a very riche sepulchre of Marble to be made and erected. Adrian did muche esteeme and delight, to paynt figures and counterfets very naturally, and to graue in Marble with great skil and deuice: sometimes in ware to make newe inuentions: and was in these Arts so curious, that he made the Goddesse Venus in Alabaster, and with a pencill did paint the wars of Carthage: and of ware did fourme the whole Iland Creta. And albeit, that in these things he were readie and expert, ioyntly therewith he was very ambitious: bycause he had as great enuie, and also rancour at an artificer, which was sayde to paynt or worke more curiously then him selfe, as if the maintenance of his liuing had consisted therein. There were in Rome two excellent men, the one named Dionysius, the other Milesius, men right famous in the liberall Arts: for that many in Rome did frequent their studies, but muche more did prayse their workes: Adrian did take thereof so great enuie, that although he found no cause to kill them, he wanted not occasion to banish them. A certaine skilfull carpenter in drawing plots for buildings, being in some question with the Emperour Traiane, of the fourme and manner of placing of a staire, Adrian being present, sayd his iudgement somwhat besides ỹ purpose: wherunto ỹ carpenter Polydorus answered: Maister Adrian, if your cunning did not serue you better to paint gourdes and coocumers, then to place staires, you shuld obteine as smal credite amõgst painters, as you haue amongst artificers. Although Adrian could dissemble those words, he might not in any wise forget them: for after ỹ death of Traiane, he attaining the empire, those iniurious words were no more costly vnto the sorowfull Polydorus, but to serue Adrian for sufficient reuenge, to take away his life. Adrian being so great a Grecian, and also a Latinist, compounded certaine workes in Heroicall metre, as also in proase, & did muche delight to haue them praised, & could not indure but ỹ some must read them. In those daies the Greek tong flourishing in Rome, brought ỹ

of Homer in great estimation: whereof Adrian did take so great enuie, that he gaue streight commaundement, that none shoulde reade Homer, eyther openly or secretly, but the workes of Anthimachus, who was a Philosopher most obscure. Adrian had condition curiously to inquire, of common and small matters: whereof he was both noted and murmured: because, Princes being giuen to make search of trifling causes, proue variable in prouiding for matters of importance. Also Adrian was of fickle disposition: for that at the louden, he woulde determine, to performe some enterprise, and after growe colde, and incontinent omit the same: of this, as of the rest, with great reason, he was noted and accused: bycause graue Princes ought to haue a reposed deliberation, and a diligent execution. Adrian was in two things most extreme: that is to say, he vsed no measure or weight in his loue, or hatred: for vnto whom he did loue, he gaue all his heart: and where he did abhorre, he did imploy all his strength. Admitting that this manner of loue, or hatred, is tollerable in others, yet most truely of vertuous Princes not permitted: bycause if they be vnbridled in loue, in others which they loue not, they cause enuie: and if they be absolute in hatred, they seeke vnto them selues great infamie: wherefore it is conuenient in loue, to be discrete, and in hatred, prouident and aduised. He was likewise most extreme, that if he praised any thing, he did aduaunce it to the cloudes: and if it fell not into his fauour, he dispraised it to the deepest bottome: in such manner, that all sayd of Adrian, that in praising, he was verie gracious, and in nippes, tauntes, and gybes, not a little malicious. Adrian had great delight in faire women, who was so absolute and also so dissolute in that vice, that he did not onely inioy virgins, persuade married women, but also in the houses of his verie friendes, he had his secrete loues. Of the one part, considering his iniustice, and of the other parte, the great iustice that he did execute: the historiographers would not place him amongest the pitifull Princes: neither condemne him

with

that were tyrannous: bycause most truly if he did chastice some by iustice, also he slue others by enuie.

CHAP. III.

Of the friends and enimies which Adrian had.

ADrian being of the age of ninetene yeres, Traiane conceiuing the abilitie and towardnesse of the yong man, as well in letters as in armes, sent to Spaine for him to come to Rome, with whome he did so behaue himselfe, that for entertainment, he did receiue him into his chamber, and in his loue, did place him as a childe. The naturall bountie, and great abilitie of Adrian being in apparance, Traiane from thence forth did so regard and fire his eyes, as well to honour him, all the dayes of his life: as also to leaue him Emperour, after his death. Adrian being in so great fauour with the Emperour Traiane, there folowed thereof in proceſſe of time, no small displeasures to his person, and perils vnto his life: for his enimies by enuie, with the Emperour procured his disgrace, and with their malice, did maligne him with the people. It is an auncient pestilence in the courtes of Princes, that the Prince being pleased to beare affection, or to honour any person, forthwith they ioyne to murmur, & procure to persecute the same. As Seuerianus being husband vnto a sister of Adrian, did murmur of him vnto Traiane, saying ỹ it was a wonder vnto all men in Rome, to sée Adrian so priuate, & so far in fauour, & that they presumed ỹ after his dayes, he should leaue him the Empire: vnto whome Traiane made answere: Who hath to succéede me in the Empire? only the Gods be acquainted therewith: but admitting, that it were my will, and the Goddes permitting, that Adrian shoulde succéede me in the Empire: I can say vnto thée, that to gouerne the same he will proue no fole, neyther a cowarde to defende it. The answere that Traiane made,

was

was very good, and yet not without a secret taunt, for that the Consul Seuerianus, had neyther praised him for valiaunt, eyther held him for wise. This Seuerianus was alwaies a great enimie of Adrian, & did not cease trauelling to disgrace him with the Emperour: wherby Adrian happned at times, to be both in fauour, and disfauour: in suche manner, that Adrian burned betwixt two fiers, whiche is to wit, care to resist his enimies, and solicitude in conseruing his frends. The first office that Adrian had in Rome, Traiane being Consul, and Domitian being emperour, he was made a Decem viriato: that is to say, he was appointed for one of the ten men, that were deputed, to determin contentions amongst the people. Adrian gaue so good account of his office, and recouered in Rome so good fame, that he seemed sufficient vnto al men, alone and in his own person, to gouerne a common wealth: and so it came to passe, that in the yeare following, he was deputed Tribune of the second legion: that is to say, that he had charge to gouerne and correct the seconde capteinship, of the armies
» that were in the wars: bycause it was a custome in Rome,
» that euerie capteinship should haue a capteine to fight: and
» a Tribune to rule and gouerne. The yeare of the tribune office being past, he was sent vnto the inferiour Misia, gouerning that Prouince with so great prudence, and was of suche readinesse and skill amongest those Barbarians, that some delighted to obey him, & the others durst not resist him. Adrian was in no small perplexitie, for the doubt he had to be remoued from Traianes fauour, which he suspected, to see him selfe in Misia, & his enimie Seuerianus with Traiane in Rome: that vppon any report that might be made of him there, ỹ malice of his enimie had place to aggrauate, and he for him selfe being farre distant, not able to answere. Traiane had in his chamber one whome he much fauoured, named Gallus, a most speciall friend vnto Adrian: and Adrian being aduertised, that Gallus his most faithfull friende was deade, made for him great obsequies, and wept for him many teares. There succeded in

fauour

fauour vnto this Gallus another named Surus, a man sufficiently wise and prudent: and also this, as Gallus, was most special friend vnto Adrian: and the very cause wherby he obteined the fauoured to be his friends, was: for that in his giftes he was very liberall: and to doe for his friend, no lesse determined. Also Adrian gaue him self to content, » serue, and please Plotina, Traianes wife, and vsed therein » so great skill, and came so farre into fauour with Plotina, » that out of that so narrowe friendship, he gathered more » profit, then she did honour. Traiane had in his house a neece » named Sabina, whiche was to marrie, and requested for wife, of many noble Romaines: but Plotina and Surus trauelled and persuaded Traiane to marrie her vnto Adrian: affirming that with this marriage, he was excused of two marriages, that is to say: to seeke a wife for Adrian, and an husband for Sabina. When as Adrian had presented many giftes, and offered many seruices vnto Plotina: partely for the great loue that she did beare him, and for that she had married him vnto Sabina, she made him answere: Adrian, according to the good will which I beare thee, it is smal which I haue done for thee, in respect of that which I meane to doe: for that I may doe little with my Lord Traiane, but as he hath chosen thee to be his nephew, he shall also adopt thee to be his sonne. After Adrian had obteined Plotina for his good Ladie, Sabina for his wife, and Surus for his friend, he little estéemed the enimitie of Seuerianus his enimie: bycause in Traianes house, all did honour him as one in fauour, & did serue him as a maister.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the loue that the Emperour Traiane had vnto Adrian.

By the marriage that Adrian had with Sabina, neece vnto the Emperour Traiane, there followed him, not a litle, but very much profite: for, besides that he was most in

in fauour with the Emperour, and verie well liked of the Empresse Plotina, the greatest parte of the affaires of the Empire, was dispatcht by his handes. Adrian presuming of great eloquence, presented vppon a day before the Senate, a certaine pastorall enterlude, whereat the Senatours and Oratours did greatly laugh: not onely of that whiche he sayde, but also of the base style wherein he did
„ speake the same. He gaue him selfe to the Latine toung,
„ and to the Art of an Oratour, wherin he grew so profound,
„ ý they gaue to him as great glory for his speache, as vnto
„ Cicero for his writing. In the first warres that Traiane had with the Datians, Adrian was made Questor, that is to say, he had charge to prouide, victuals and furniture for the campe: whiche was an office amongest the armies, of great honour, and of much confidence: for he had both the treasure in his custodie, and the payment of the campe.

When Traiane was eyther sicke, or not at leasure, on his behalfe Adrian went to the Senate: but the Senators although they did admit him to speake, they did not per-
„ mit him to excede or to take the chiefe place: for it was a
„ lawe amongest them much vsed, that being assembled in
„ the Senate, none should presume to clap his handes, to
„ cause silence, or cõmaũd the doore to be shut, neyther enter
„ being clad with a long gowne, or to place him selfe in the
„ highest seate, but onely the Emperour. Being notorious vnto all men, that Adrian was priuate with the Emperour Traiane, and in great fauour with Plotina his wife, and therewithall, that he was a man both prudent and politique: and although in the Senate not permitted to the chiefest place, yet all things were directed by his counsell, in suche wise, that at home all things were done as he thought good, and abroade as he did commaund. When it was knowne in Rome, that the king of Datia eftsones had rebelled, Adrian presently persuaded Traiane, in his owne person to go to that war, and to leaue the enterprise to no other man: wherein Adrian did followe and serue Traiane, more then any other capteine: and certainly did there

so valiaunt and notable dædes, that with Traiane he obteined fauour, and aduaunced his person to great estimation. Adrian being thus notified in the warres of Datia, Traiane thought it méete to commende vnto him the seconde legion, which was vnder the protection of the Goddesse Minerua: and in such manner did gouerne the same, and gaue his souldiers so great courage, that he was the man, that did most grieue the enimie, and least did feare perilles. The thing most estéemed of the Emperour Traiane, was a Diamond which Nerua had giuen him: this Diamond Traiane gaue Adrian, in the time of the warres of Datia, which was so kept and estéemed of Adrian, that vntill the day of his death, it was neuer séene off from his finger. The warres of Datia being finished, Traiane returned to Rome, leauing Adrian as Prætour of that Prouince, Sussurus and Seuerianus being consuls. He had not long gouerned Datia, when Adrian receiued from the Senate newe prouision to passe into Panonia: where he was not only gouernour in causes of iustice, but also had charge of all martiall affaires: bycause certaine barbarous Danubians had entered those Prouinces, sacking and spoyling greate countries. Adrian being arriued into Panonia, did in short time expell the enimies, visited the countries, refourmed the armies, chasticed the Romaine officers: and founde by infourmation, that they were great friendes of idlenesse, and no enimies of robberie. The fame being come to Rome, of the commendable gouernement of Adrian in Panonia: in the yeare following, in the Kalends of Januarie, the Senate did elect him Consul: and truely, as they were many, that did alowe this election, so they were not few that did resist it: but in fine, the procurers had more force in their diligence, then the malice of them which resisted.

CHAP. V.

Of the care and solicitude of Adrian, to obteine the Empire.

In all kingdomes and prouinces, where Adrian was eyther Pretour or Questour, presently he made diligent inquisition, if there were any Magicians or Sothsayers: and if he founde any he did persuade them, with swéete wordes, and riche rewardes, to be certified, if after the death of Traiane, the Empire should come vnto his handes: for that he was not onely desirous to obteine the same, but carefull to know the issue thereof. Being resident in the prouince of Mesia, he was aduertised by a Mathematike, that he should be Emperour: and demaunding howe and by what meanes, he vnderstoode thereof, answered: by a certaine friend which was not onely learned in the naturall courses, but also did vnderstande the secretes of the immortall Gods. Although Adrian was resident in straunge prouinces, he was not slacke to serue the Empresse Plotina, and to please the chamberleine Surus: in such wise, that if his enimies did thinke him farre off, they found his seruice, alwayes ready and at hande. Nowe when Traiane was stricken in age, and become sickly, Adrian continued no lesse diligent, to solicite Plotina and Surus, to persuade the Emperour, to adopt him for his sonne: but on the other side the Consul Seuerianus, Palma and Celsus, and other his enimies, did withstande: whose diligence and malice did little profite, because they did but discouer their intent, and coulde not obteine their desire. Eyther by the onely will of Traiane, or by the importunitie of Plotina, nor by the suite of Surus, eyther by the merite of his owne person, the Emperour Traiane determined to chose Elius Adrian to be his sonne, after his dayes to succéede him in the Empire: for the Emperour had many kingdomes to giue, but no sonne to whome he might leaue the same.

Before Traiane had elected Adrian, he was long determined, to make no assignment of any person, to succéed him

in the Empire, but to haue vsed the order of Alexander the great: who being demaunded, whome he woulde assigne to succéede him in his Monarchie, answered, Vnto the most worthy. Traiane made a memoriall, of all the most vertuous, wise, and of most worthinesse within the Empire: and ioyntly therewith, caused to be written of them, seuerall Nations, in Gréeke and Latine: and he himselfe did adde with his owne hande, what he thought agréeable to their conditions and abilities. To the ende that after his dayes, the Senate might open and reade the same, and from thence to make election: not of him that did most procure, but that did best deserue. At one time a certaine Consul, named Neratius Priscus, was greatly in his fauour, vnto whom he had thought to haue left ỹ Empire, in so much, ỹ one day Traiane said vnto him: Neratius Priscus, from hencefoorth I comend ỹ Empire vnto thée, if any sorrowfull or souden destinie shall happen vnto me. All such as did withstande the adoption of Adrian, did fauour the election of Neratius Priscus: but Fortune that should haue framed the effect, brought Neratius into Traianes great hatred, not a little to the profite of Adrian: bycause from thence forth, although their remained enimies to hinder his intent, none as an opposite, durst demaunde the same. When Traiane passed from Spaine into Asia, to the wars of the Parthians, Plotina and Surus, made great suite that Adrian might be sente, as Pretour into Syria: whoe being in Antioche, was aduertised by a messinger from Traiane, which in times past had bene his tutor, how he was elected to be Traianes sonne, and assigned his successour in the Empire. Excéeding was the ioy that Adrian receiued with that newes, which he did vtter in such excessiue manner and degrée, that presently he did celebrate, with great games and feastes, the day of his nativitie: and not only vpon that day, but euery yeare, all the dayes of his life: bicause it was the thing, that his heart most desired, and for the attainement whereof, he had imployed his greatest skill and strength.

At that time were Consuls, Sosius and Pretorius, with whome Adrian entered newe friendshippe: and the ende wherefore he did vndertake this newe affection, was, that as Plotina & Surus did solicite & procure the Empire with Traiane, so those two Consuls shuld subsist him in the Senate: in such wise, that if he did watch to obtaine it, he did ouerwatch to sustaine it. Not long after that Adrian was adopted, that is to say, after fourtæne monethes, Traiane dyed: presently Plotina his wife, and the Consul Tatianus, being chiefe friendes vnto Adrian, did take order and vse great diligence, that Adrians admission vnto the Empire, might first be notified and knowne in Rome, before the death of the Emperour Traiane: whiche was concealed and couered for certaine dayes, saying, that he was so sicke, that he would not be visited, vntill they were possest of the power of the armies, and had obteined the good will of the Senate. Adrian did write vnto the Senatours, giuing them to vnderstand, that Traiane was at the point of death, and that also he was assigned and adopted to be his successour and heire in the Empire: and did right instantly request them, to take the same in good parte, and therevppon did promise, and sweare vnto them, to diuide or giue offices, but at their owne liking and consent.

CHAP. VI.

Howe at Traianes death Adrian was declared Emperour.

The newes of Traianes death being arriued at Rome, presently it was published, that the succession of the empire was cõmitted vnto Adrian: & vpon the confirmation, or refusal of this election, there arose no smal contention in the Senate: and the matter so far argued & prosecuted

ted, by his friendes, and so resisted by his enimies: that it gaue no small doubt of intestine warrs, no lesse cruell, then the warres betwixt Cæsar and Pompey. The seruaunts of Traiane, the friends of Plotina, and the kinred and alies of Tatian, did vse suche diligence in this case, that within three dayes they confirmed Adrian, in the Empire: and the greatest cause to moue the Senate therevnto, was: that they had intelligence, that Adrian was in Syria, in full power, possession, and authoritie, of the whole armie: and might haue bene constrained to yealde by force, which they refused to perfourme by good will. Presently after Adrian was confirmed in the Empire, he did write vnto the Senate, gratifying their friendly fact, and requesting that Traiane might be collocate amongst the Gods, since he had bene a Prince so diuine, whereto the Senate gladly consented, saying: that although Traiane had finished his life, for euermore in Rome his fame shoulde indure. In memorie ỹ Traiane had ouercome the Parthians, they ordeined ỹ euery yeare the Parthik playes should be celebrated in Rome, which indured amongst the Romains many yeres: but in fine, they and their playes had an end. Before all thinges, Adrian gaue order, that the body of Traiane might be brought into Italie, where it shoulde be giuen a generous sepulchre, and to effectuate the same, commanded his ashes to be inclosed in a bore of Unicorne, which also was inclosed with golde, and placed in a piller of most excellent marble, lyned with most rich purple: all which being ladē into a gallie, he sent Tatian and Plotina, wt the body vnto Rome: al Rome went forth to receiue ỹ body of Traiane: and as it is sayd and written, there was neuer so muche ioy vttered for any man, that entered being aliue: but muche more sorrowe was discouered, for Traianes comming deade. Adrian stayed in Antioche, whiche is the heade of Syria, partly to assemble the whole armie, and partly to recouer money: for being then winter, he could neyther campe for coldenesse of the weather: eyther marche or iourney for want of money.

Adrian was there aduertised, howe the Mauritans did defie him, the Sarmatians did mutinate, the Britans did rebell, the Palestines resist, the Aegyptians disobey, and that all the Barbarians were in commotion. Finally, it is to be vnderstoode, that vpon the death of Traiane, al people and nations were so escandalized, that it seemed not, but that he left the worlde without a maister or an owner. Adrian perceiuing the greater part of the Empire in commotion, determined to make them no war, but to intreate them by peace: and for this cause he refused and forsoke al those kingdomes and Prouinces, that lay beyond the riuer Euphrates, and the riuer Tygris, which the good Traiane had wonne and conquered: in which conquest he imployed his noble person, and gaue ende vnto his honourable life. Vnto all kingdomes and Prouinces, Adrian sent Embassadours, to confederate with some, and to confirme peace with others: and with some he did capitulate thinges so slaunderous, and with so great disaduauntage: that it had bene much better to haue raysed warre, then to haue procured a peace so infamous. Parsnapate king of the Parthians, came to complaine vnto Adrian, saying, that the good Traiane had giuen him that kingdome, and crowned him with his owne hands, and now vpon the death of Traiane, they would neyther obey him, or suffer him to liue within the kingdome. Adrian would not, or else durst not, make warres with the Parthians: but gaue vnto Parsnapate, the Seigniorie of certaine countries and Prouinces of Syria, being vacant at that time, as Lorde to inioy the fruites thereof, and as Romaine Pretour to gouerne the people.

" When Adrian had obtained the Empire, presently he pu-
" blished and sayd vnto all men, that he wold become a piti-
" full Prince: and truly, in some pitifull causes, he did shew
" him selfe to be the sonne of Traiane: but in some rigorous
" matters, he seemed to be the brother of Nero. A certaine man named Bebius, was Prefect in Rome, who was contrarie vnto Adrian, in all thinges that eyther touched his honour or profite: and being counselled to kill Bebius, for

that

that he ceased not to be his aduersarie, made answere: I will not onely permit Bebius to liue, but also the office of Pretour, which hee helde but for a yeare, I will confirme vnto him during his life. Laberius and Frugius, two Romaine Senatours, were banished vnto the Isle of Pontus, whom he commaunded to returne to their houses, and their goodes to be restored them: but the Consul Frugius being mutinous, mouing commotion betwixt Adrian and the Senate, he commaunded to be throwne aliue into Tyber: and obteined no lesse honour, in the executing of the one, then in pardoning the other. Vnto certaine Gentlemen of the armie, that sayde vnto Adrian in times past, that he should be Emperour, he gaue double rewardes: affirming, that he gaue them not for their aduertisement, but for their good will.

CHAP. VII.

Of his entrie into Rome.

NOwe when Summer was come, Adrian parted from Antioche to come to Rome: and lefte for Prepolite of Syria, Catalius Seuerus, and toke his way throughe Illyria, and determined to make warre with the Sarmatians, which would not receiue the Ambassadours of peace. Lucius Turbon, that had beene Pretour tenne yeares in Mauritania, came forth to mete him vpon the waye, with whome Adrian had great friendship, being a young man, and in house with his Lorde Traiane: presently he made him Pretour of the Prouince of Datia, and Panonia. At that time Lucius Turbon was in Africa, maister of the horse men, of whome Adrian was aduertised, that he was verie riche, and in greate power throughout the kingdome, and that he had not obteined all that riches, in the time of warre, but by briberie in time of peace.

Adrian was not a little grieued, of that which was sayde by Lucius Turbone, bycause he was his friende, and also seruaunt vnto Traiane: but all this notwithstanding, he applyed all that he had, vnto the common treasure, and disarmed him of his knighthode. As muche as Adrian did increase in potencie, so much did his enimies increase in enuie: in suche manner, that they coulde neyther incline their harts to loue him, eyther yeald their strēgth to serue him. The case was thus, that Palma, Celsus, Sobaius, and Lucius, Adrian going on hunting, were determined in the middest of the chace, to rid him of his life: whereupon they were agreed, that in his swiftest pursuit of any wild beast, they would attend him in the most thickest pace or track: & there vnder the colour to misse their leuell at the beast, would shote and kill the Emperour. All these foure were men of noble bloud, and rich in goods, and were called Cōsulares: bycause at other times they had bene Consuls: but as their treason was discouered, first by iustice they were beheaded, before Adrian went on hunting. Great was the murmuring and mutinie throughout all Rome, when they vnderstode howe Adrian had executed so cruell iustice, vpon these foure Consulares or noble men: partly for that they helde opinion, that Adrian had raised that quarell againste them: and partly for custome and manner, for that fewe were the chastisements, whiche the good Traiane did execute, but great was the number that receiued pardon. Adrian being aduertised, that for the death of the foure Consulares, all Rome was escandalized, and that for a man reuenging and cruell, his person was defamed, determined with all spede to come to Rome, to excuse him selfe of that fault. The affaires of Adrian stood not in so euill estate, as vpon the way, they gaue him aduertisement: which did well appeare, in that the Senate did offer him the triumph due vnto Traiane, being cut off by death to inioy the same: but Adrian refusing, gaue order, that the Image of Traiane shoulde be placed in the triumphant chariote: to the ende that good Traiane

should

shoulde not want a triumphe, although but after his death. Presently when Adrian came to Rome, he went to visite the Sepulchre of his Lorde Traiane, where his eyes did shed many teares, and for him did offer vnto the Gods most sumptuous sacrifices. All the Senate being ioyned, and also all the most principal of the people, vnto whome Adrian made a long oration: wherin he gaue them to vnderstand of the state of the Empire: and did excuse him selfe of the death of the aforesaide foure Consulares: because the officers of the Senate had made searche and inquisition of the cause, and the Pretors of ỹ armies did execute the sentence. The Senate did offer Adrian the title of Pater patriæ, but he would not receiue it, affirming it to be one of the titles of his lord Traiane: and since he had been a good father, it were great reason he should proue a good sonne. It was a custome in Rome and throughout all Italie, that when their Princes came newely to gouerne the Empire, that all cities and other people should furnishe him with a certeine summe of golde and siluer: with the golde to make a crowne, and the siluer for the seruice of his house: and sometimes they did present so much golde to make the crowne, that the remnant was sufficient to mainteine the warres. Adrian refused not onely this seruice to be demaunded, but also returned that which was brought him: saying, that his crowns should be riche, when his subiectes should be in wealth. The officers of the treasurie, that is to saye, suche as had the collection and kéeping of the masse of Rome, had raised greate rentes, daily inuenting newe manner of tributes, in the common wealth: which being knowen vnto Adrian, he commaunded all newe impositions to be remoued from the common wealth, and the inuentors thereof to be displaced from their offices. Generally the Romains complained vnto Adrian of the dearth of victuals: forthwith he prouided for prouision of wheat from Sicyl, wines from Candie, and oyle from Spaine: and further, gaue such prices vnto the same, and all other victuals, that the poore

might fáde with the riche. He did promise and sweare in the Senate to put no Senatour vnto death, although he were culpable, without the accused should first be heard, and his cause considered by all the Senate: and truely this othe did excuse Adrian of many executions, and was no lesse occasion that the Senatours committed many faultes. Princes haue to consider what they sweare and promise: for, from that day wherein Princes shal vnable thē selues, to punishe vice and sinne, from thenceforth their vassals shal followe wickednesse. In the yere that Adrian entred Rome, all thinges were deare, and the people not founde or in health: who vsing greate magnificence, commaunded much money to be giuen to the poore of the common wealth: in such wise, that it was not founde that any died for hunger, either suffered any extreme necessitie.

There were many that had bēene banished, and diuerse in prison for debt due vnto the Fiscall: that is to saye, vnto his chamber. Adrian gaue commaundement by publique proclamation, that all such debtes should be absolued, and that for any such debte, none should be runnagates, either kept in prison. Adrian did derogate the law & custome of his predecessours, which is to wēt, that ỹ goods of the condemned, should be for the Prince, which he commaunded from thencefoorth to be imployed not to his chāber, but to the comfort of the common wealth: for he saide and helde opinion, that the Iudge should neuer be grieued, to punishe offendours, when he should remember, to inherite a share of the offendours goods. He extremely delighted when any person came to craue, and much more did reioyce, if he had to giue: but if by chaunce he had not to satisfie his demaund, at the least he gaue him a friendly aunswer. From the time that Adrian was in possession of ỹ Empire: he was neuer heard to say, or name, Traiane: but, my Lord Traiane.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ Of the good conditions and inclinations of Adrian.

With

With much diligence and no lesse secrecie, Adrian inquired, what life the Senatours did leade, and what exercise they vsed: and such as he found poore and vertuous, he augmented their patrimonie: and such as he found riche and vicious, he found meane to depriue them from ỹ Senate. Adrian was a Prince, verie skilfull, and muche considerate in punishing his officers and seruauntes, that is to saye: he kept secrete from the people the causes why he remoued any person from his office. And further, if he displaced any person from his commoditie, he did not forget otherwise to recompence him, in such maner, that if he did chastice them, he did not dishonor them. Many times, did Adrian speake these wordes: Whome I shal see esteemed and worshipped in the common wealth, I wil rather determin to take away his hed then his honour. The rẽts which the good Traiane left in many partes of Italie, for ỹ breeding of childrẽ, the sustaining of widowes, & the marriage of Orphans, he did not only confirme, but also made better. All the seruants of Traiane he did aduaunce to better offices: & such as were not mẽte for offices, he gaue thẽ money. Adrian commaunded serch to be made, how many noble men were falne into pouertie: & such as were decayed by mischaunce, he relieued: & such as procured pouertie by vice, he gaue them leaue to endure necessitie. He gaue help to al ỹ Romaine widowes to marrie their daughters, & he was not more boũtiful in giuing relief vnto ỹ daughters, then he was an enimie to succour the sonnes: for he helde opinion, that, that young man deserued not to be married, that with his handes did not obteine a marriage. By thre dayes space, he did celebrate the feast of the god Genius: that is to saye, the daye of his birthe: and commaũded vpon those dayes, to giue pitances vnto all ỹ people, and he with all the Senatours and nobles did eate and banquet in his imperiall palace: the cost whereof did not amount vnto so little, but as they were thre, if they had bene fyre, the rentes of the whole Empire had been spent, and parte of their treasure.

By

By the space of fiue continuall dayes he did cause them to represent the game of sworde players: and the people craued certeine other playes, which he would not consent: not for that he delighted not therein, but to giue them to vnderstand in Rome, that it appertained vnto Princes, as much to moderate their pleasures, as to giue order for thinges of importance. Before Adrian was Emperour, he was thrise Consul, for which cause he made diuers Romaines thrée times Consuls: and whereas some were offended, for want of like fauour, he did aunswer: Such as did exceede mee in merite, ought to be equall with mee
" in dignitie. Within the compasse of Rome, neuer before
" the dayes of Adrian, were permitted more then two Con-
" suls: the one to gouerne the common wealth, the other to
" go to the warres: but Adrian did adde and create a thirde
" Consul: for that if ỹ one should be sicke, and the other resi-
" dent in the warres, the common wealth shoulde not re-
" maine without an head. Tutinus a noble knight of Rome, Adrian did create Senatour, and gaue him the ensignes of Consul, whereat the whole Senate was offended: affirming, that the Emperour ought or might not create in such manner: partely, because Tutinus was not of deseruing, and partly, for that the aduise of the Senate should haue bæne vsed therein. Adrian was displeased with these wordes of the Romaines, and from thence forth did vse more libertie in reparting offices, and lesse companye in determining causes. He helde Seuerianus in greate veneration, which had married his sister, vnto whome he gaue both honour and great rewardes: and at all times, when Seuerianus came vnto his chamber to conferre, and to vnderstand his pleasure, Adrian came foorth to mæte and receiue him at the dore. Although Seuerianus came to visite Adrian, and Adrian came forth to receiue Seuerianus, yet auncient and very mortall was the hatred betwixt them: for in this case, either of them did vtter and discouer, to be possessed with a moste vile intent: for that Seuerianus did trauaile to depriue Adrian from Empire

and

and honour, and Adrian with no lesse facilitie did take away his life. When Adrian was in Rome, at the least he went thrise a weeke vnto the Senate: and if he were either sicke, or muche busied, they did repaire vnto his presence: in such maner, that nothing of importance did passe in the Senate, wherein they did not vse his iudgement. Adrian was of familiar conuersation with his speciall friendes, and with his particular seruaunts, with whome he went to eate in their gardeines, to fisshe at riuers, to hunt in the fieldes, and all other such like pastimes. Naturally he was giuen to haue compassion of the sicke, and herein he did neither consider whether they were friends or foes: for that indifferently he did visite them, and at his owne charges did prouide for them. He did not onely visite the sicke, but also the olde men, decrepite with age: of whome at large he woulde inquire of the yeres that they had liued, the kingdomes they had trauelled, the daungers they had passed, the enimies which they had holde, & the necessities that they had endured, in suche wise, that many times, of the things which they had saide, of times past, he toke example for the time present. Adrian was a most singular friende of vertuous men, and wise Philosophers, and neuer wanted their companie, either in warre or peace: because of the vertuous he learned how to liue, and of the Philosophers howe to gouerne.

Turbone, maister of the horse men had a sonne with Adrian, sufficiently valiant, and with Adrian very priuate: but ioyntly wt this, he held him for presumptuous in spæch, and couetous in dealings, because all which Adrian did at his request and suite, he solde it all for money: the truthe of this case being knowen, Adrian receiued therof so great displeasure, that presently he commaunded the young man to be apprehended, and that all things which by briberie he had purloined shoulde be taken from him, and restored vnto the owners, and to be transported as a banished man to the Isle of Pontus: vnto whome Adrian saide, of this offence, thou shalt remaine chasticed, and I warne

warned for euer more, to shewe ouermuch and extreme fauour vnto my seruaunt, whereby to conuert loue into pride, or to sell fauour for couetise.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Of the maner which Adrian vsed with the men of warre.

When Adrian parted from Almaine to come to Rome, not as then determined to haue stayed long there: but the occasion of his staye, was, for that the good Traiane, in his latter yeres, was deteined so long time in the warres of Asia, & Europa, that the cõmon wealthes of Italie were growen to greate and ouermuch libertie. Adrian departing from Rome, came streight vnto Gallia Transalpina: not to conquer but to visite the same. The frenchemen did much reioyce at his cõming, and in euery prouince did him great seruice, because Adrian was the first Romaine Prince that euer entred Fraunce in peace, for that all his predecessours brake in by violent hostilitie. Personally visiting all Gallia, wherein he did erect newe buildinges, repaired the olde, reedified temples, reformed priestes, set at libertie certeine gentlemen, gaue giftes vnto the people, pardoned some offences, and punished others: finally all his deedes, were gratefull vnto the citizens, & profitable vnto the common wealth. The affaires of Fraunce being set in order, once more he returned to passe ỹ Alps, and toke his way into Almaine, without any disposition to make warre, but to procure peace: for that Adrian naturally was giuen friendly with all men to haue peace, whiche if they would not accept, he was not after easie to intreate.

In the time that Adrian had most peace, then did he exercise his men of warre, as if he had bene amongest his enimies: and for this cause he helde opinion, that al Princes did craue his peace, for that he was neuer vnreadie to make

make warre. Adrian inuented many deuises, wherin his knightes might exercise their strength, as wagers to runne, towers, and fortes of wood, and earth, to assault, marche tenne against tenne in combat: he sought out strong places to practise the arte of mining, prouoked them to go to wrastling, and brought them to riuers to learne to swim: finally, he held them so occupied, that they desired rather to fight an whole day in earnest, then so many dayes in iest. Also Adrian did vse to fede of the common victuals of the camp, that is to saye, grose baken, rat eaten cheese, powdred beefe, and barley bread: and if any thinge were dreest for his owne person, more delicate then ỹ rest, he made suche diuision, that the least parte came to him selfe. What more or lesse, he alwayes did weare some armour: and if by chaunce he found any gentleman vnarmed, presently he was checked of his wages: affirming, that the man that goeth vnarmed, ought not to be intreated and honoured as a gentlemā. In the armies, amongst the greater or lesse, better or worse, their worke or exercise was equally diuided: whiche is to wete, when the time was to drawe, all did hale and drawe: and when the time was to dig, all without exception at their turne, did dig and mine: at the time of watching in their course, euery man did watche: in these trauels he did no more excuse him selfe then others: for at his turne, he did both watche and dig in the mine with his owne handes. He had not, neither consented in the warres, the vse of high tables to fede on, either portals to passe the time, neither caues to cole or recreate, either warmed water to bathe, neither cookerie or dressing of meate, either selling of swete oyntments: for he helde opinion, that the good and valiant souldiers, did not annoynt them selues, but with the blod of enimies. Adrians garments were not curious or costlye, but very cleanly, whereunto he was addicted, both in diet, and apparell: and after a maner he did abhorre suche men as were not nete and fine: affirming, that filthie men be alwayes of drousie iudgements.

In

In the warres he did neuer weare silk, purple, or riche vesture, either buttons, or agglets of golde, or his dagger, sworde, or armour gilte: but notwithstanding verye fine and strong. When any was notified in the warres, of valiant and doubtie dædes, presently he did notifie him, with great and bountifull rewardes: in such manner, that he did not deferre to recompence at Rome any seruice don in the warres. When he trauailed through mountaines, most times he did alight to bring other men on foote, and did marche xb. or xx. miles in his armour: and this he did, to kæpe their horses freshe and lusty, if they should hap to encounter with the enimie. He did alwayes lodg within the campe, and ordinarily he went from tent to tent, to visite the wounded, and with the whole and sound to haue conuersation. Adrian was so familiar with his men of warre, that he called verie many by their names, and knew all men by their gesture: in such wise, that no enimie or straunger, might enter his campe that to him was vnknowen. When a horsemans rome was vacant in the warres, the captaines sought out such as should succæde: but Adrian in his owne person would examine him, and this he did, to knowe his face, and try his strength. Such as he did elect tribunes, or captaines of his armies, were verie valiant, but not couetous: and ioyntly therewith, he admitted not young men without beardes, either olde men broke or decayed: doubting, in to much youth, want of gouernement: and in to much age, strength to fight.

He made good paye vnto his men of warre, streightly forbidding his captaines to imbezill any wages, or to take awaye present giuing vnto the souldiers: and this Adrian did, to auoide necessitie in the one, and couetise in the other. He did prohibite by a publique lawe, that none should carrie vnto the warres any superfluous thing, and that none should presume to buy or sell any thing that was not necessarie. Very diligent to furnishe his camps with victuals, which being brought vnto the campe, he did so prise them, that the buyer was not robbed, either the seller

seller defrauded. Imitating Vegetius, Adrian did write a booke, wherein he did instruct the captaines, howe they should fight: and an order, how tribunes shoulde gouerne the armies: to conformitie whereof he made many excellent lawes, which for long time were obserued of the Romaine Princes. In this case, of order, prouision, and correction of the men of warre, they were onely three Princes that attained vnto the chiefe perfection thereof: that is to saye, Augustus, Traiane, and Adrian, because all other Princes, helde men of warre not to defend, but to dissipate the common wealth.

CHAP. X.

¶Of the actes that Adrian did in Englande, Fraunce, and Spaine.

ALl the time that Adrian was in Almaine, he did moste occupie him selfe in reforming his men of warre into good customes and order, which he did not without greate prudence, after the manner of a good mariner, whiche in time, when the Sea is calme, doeth dresse and mende his sailes, & order his anchors against the storme and soudein chaunces that may followe in time to come.

From Almaine, Adrian came vnto greate Britaine, whiche is nowe called England, and there founde peace, as in Fraunce, which was then holden for a greate maruaile: because from the time of Iulius Cæsar, whiche did first conquer the same, vnto the dayes of Adrian, they were neuer without warres with the Frenche men, or rebelling against the Romaines. Presently vppon his entrie into Britaine, he sought curiously to be informed of the lawes they helde, and of the customes they vsed: which being perused and examined, some he did allowe, and some he did remoue and make frustrate: especially, he did annihilate that lawe, whereby the man should holde ii. wiues, and the woman, vii. husbandes. When Iulius Cæsar did con-

conquer the Ilande of England, he brought many people out of Italie to inhabite that countrie: and although the native, with the straunger, helde no warre, yet liued they not in perfect peace: for the Britans did terme ẏ Romaines newe come men, and the Romaines did call them Barbarians. Adrian finding that no friendship might be framed by prayer, or amendment by correction, deuised to diuide the kingdome in the middest: and the case was thus: that in the middes of the kingdome, he made a wall from Sea to Sea, a worke most straunge, wherein this Prince did imploy great treasure. Adrian being resident in Britaine, was aduertised from Rome of the want of good gouernement that was vsed in his wiues house, by the occasion of certeine Romaines, which aduentured to accompany the Empresse: whose conuersation was more to the preiudice of his fame, then to the profite of his seruice. Septicius Prefectus, and Sortonius Tranquillus, which at that time were Secretaries vnto the Senate: these & others grewe very familiar with the Empresse Sabina: whome Adrian sent commaundement to be depriued of their offices, and to be banished Rome. Sabina, Adrians wife, was holden to be franke of speache, and of life somewhat licentious. Adrian did greatly abhorre to haue Sabina vnto his wife: and would saye, not in secrete, but openly, that if he were a common person, he would haue bene diuorced, for that in her conuersation shee was presumptuous, & in life
" lose & dissolute. Adrian was much inclined to vnder-
" stand, not onely the conditions & inclinations of his frinds
" but also of the manner which they vsed to liue in their
" houses: for the vnderstanding wherof, he woulde inquire
" of the seruaunts, slaues and labourers that brought them
" victuals, what they did eate, and what they did drinke, &
" what their maisters spent in their houses. Sabina wife vnto Adrian, did write a certeine letter vnto a Romaine gentleman, complaining that he would not come to visite her, through ẏ pleasures of Britaine, & newe loues in that countrey ẏ he had taken in hand, which letter happening by chaunce into the handes of Adrian, & the knight vnder-

stand-

standing therof, neither went to Rome or abode in Britan. All things set in order in greate Britan, Adrian had intelligence, that in Gallia Transalpina, which nowe is named swæte Fraunce, a popular sedition was raised, in such euil maner, that if it were not presently cut off, it might breake out into a long & cruel warre. All the contention was raised vpon certein bouds & pastures, in a place called Apim: Presently Adrian passed into Gallia, & personally went to sæ ỹ marks & bounds therof: & the one & the other heard, he did diuide those bounds & limits equally betwixt them. When as a Romaine saide vnto Adrian, ỹ it was the office of a poore Judge, & not of a mightie Emperour, he answered: I had rather diuide boundes in peace, then conquer countries with warre. Now, when Adrian would departe from Fraunce, he receiued newes from Rome, howe Plotina wife vnto Traiane was dead: and as shee had bẽn his onely mistresse, & his special friend, he felt her death so sensibly ỹ besides sighing & wæping, he grewe so extremly sorrowful, ỹ he did not eate in long time. He staide in the place where he receiued these newes many moneths, and presently did write vnto ỹ Senate, ỹ Plotina should be adored amongst ỹ Goddesses: and on the other parte, he cõmaunded costly & generous sacrifices to be offered for her: he did edifie vnto her honour & perpetual memorie, a temple neare vnto Mansin, which he erected vppon pillers of marueilous marble, & did endue with great riches. The affaires of Fraunce being dispatched, he came by ỹ Pyrineã hilles, into Spaine, & staied a whole Winter in the citie of Taragon: which in those auncient times, was the moste strong, riche, & also most estæmed in all Spaine. When the Emperour Octauius did conquer Cantabria, he did builde in Taragon, a most noble house, which by the antiquitie therof was much decayed: ỹ emperour Adrian at his own cost, cõmaũding to be reedified in such wise, ỹ by repairing the decayed edifycies, he renued there ỹ name of Romanes. The imperiall house being made, Adrian kept court there with all the mightie and noble men of Spaine: where and with whome he made manye and good lawes; and in

„ especiall, he commaunded that the father whiche had but
„ one sonne, should commit the same vnto the warres, if he
„ had twaine, the second should be committed vnto science,
„ and the thirde shoulde learne some occupation in the com-
„ mon wealth.

The Spaniardes complained, that the shippes of Italie did transport many thinges out of Spaine, that is to saye, golde, siluer, silke, oyle, yarne, wheate, and wine: and out of Italie, they brought nothing into Spane: whereupon Adrian commaunded, that no straunge ship shoulde lade any thing out of Spaine. Adrian gaue greate rewardes vnto many, and some for company, he caused to goe with him, and others some he gaue offices bothe by Sea and land, of great honour: and generally, he gaue money vnto all cities, to repaire their decaied walles, in suche wise, that all Spaine, of him, helde them selues right well contented. There in Taragon, Adrian walking alone in a garden, by chaunce, a young man being madde, brake forth vppon him with swoorde drawne: Adrian, although without armour, did take away his swoord, without commaundement of correction, either to him or his maister, & also with great pitie, prouided for his cure: of which déed Adrian was praised for valiant and pitifull. Also in the prouince of Taragon, they had cotétion for their bounds, wherein Adrian prouided to plant lande markes of stone, after the maner of pillers, to the ende, that they shoulde neither be stolne or chaunged.

CHAP. XI.

¶ Howe Adrian did passe into Asia, and of the things that chaunced there.

ALl the prouinces of Spaine being visited, Adrian made his nauigation, by the Sea Mediterrane vnto the Ile of Sicyl, where he mounted the hill Aetna, to behold the marueilous thinges therein conteined: from whence he des-

descended more in feare and abashed, then either instructed or satisfied. Adrian being descended from the hill Aetna, astonied, wearied and also derided, staide not in that kingdome, but to visite the workes of the good Traiane, which he did amplifie with buyldinges, and indued with patrimonies. Adrian being resident in Sicyl, understoode that Asterlike the greatest lorde of Germanie was dead, in whose place he presently created a king, whom he sent to gouerne the same, bothe well receiued, and better obeyed: bycause the Germaines helde them selues escandalized, in that they had not kinges to gouerne them, but Consuls to chastice them.

The Mauritans, and the Numidians being diuided in cruell dissention, and understanding that Adrian was in Sicyl, readie to passe into Africa: amongest them selues they cut off all causes of warre, and concluded an assured peace. At that time also the Parthians soudeinly did arme them selues, came into the fielde, made captaines, and fortified their frontiers: and brought their seignorie to be ouer the Romaines, and not the Romaines ouer the Parthians. Adrian being aduertised of this commotion, prepared a greate armie to passe into Asia, and also did write vnto the Parthians, giuing to vnderstand, that he helde them as his friendes, and the Senate estæmed them as brethren, and not as vassals: wherewith the Barbarians were so muche satisfied, that presently they left their armour, and proclaimed peace throughout the lands. Notwithstanding, he was aduertised of the Parthians retire, he alwayes continued his nauigation into Asia: and descended first in Achaia, and entred Elusin, a famous citie of that prouince: and leading a great armie, & possessing but little money, he seazed the sacred thinges of the temples, saying, that he did it not, as a Romain Prince, but as a Grecian: for that Hercules and Philip beeing Greeke Princes, had first done and attempted the same. He alone did enter the temples of Asia, which was holden for great valiantnesse: because without armour, he entred a-

mongest the armed Priestes: and being demaunded, why he would enter to robbe those temples alone and vnarmed, aunswered: because, from our barbarous enimies we take by violence, but from the Gods by request.

Adrian departed also vnto Athens, and curiously did consider the order of their studies, and the maner of their life: and saide, that in Athens, there was nothing perfect, but Agonata the swoorde player: because he had greater readinesse and skill to playe with the swoorde, then the Philosophers in teaching Sciences: Whiche notwithstanding, he did greatly honour the Philosophers: and to some townes, he gaue great liberties: from thence, he returned to Rome, where he stayed but to visite, to honour, and also to bewaile and mourne vppon the tumbe of Plotina. Which being finished, Adrian againe went into Sicyl, and from thence into Africa, where he did visit many townes and cities, reedified certeine buyldinges, banished diuers Numidians, and also Mauritanes, for their mutinies. From thence he did passe once more into Asia, streight vnto Athens, where he finished a certeine temple which he had begonne, dedicating ỹ same vnto the God Iupiter, wherein he did ingraue the Image of Traiane, & did paint with his owne handes the figure of Plotina, his
" moste especiall souereigne ladye and mistresse. The greatest exercise that Adrian did vse in Asia, was in buylding,
" repairing, and consecrating temples: wherein he did
" place his name, and paint with the pencill, or else in Alabaster did graue his figure.

Adrian feasted and made a greate banquet vnto king Cosdroe, at that time king of Parthians, & also did restore him his daughter, which was committed for hostage vnto the good Traiane, and a litter curiously wrought with siluer, golde and Unicorne, and gaue him also many other iewels. Many kinges of Asia and other greate Princes, came to visite and to honour Adrian, who gaue them all so noble entertainement, and so highly rewarded them, that greate was the honour and magnificence he obtained a-

mongest

mongest them. Pharasmano king of the Albans refusinge to visite the Emperour Adrian, and to renue the league made betwixt him and the good Traiane: not many dayes after, Adrian wanted not occasion to dispossesse him of his estate, and to banishe him all Asia, constrained thereby to craue vpon his knees, which would haue bẽ giuen him, sitting in his chayre. Adrian, trauelling and iourneying throughout Asia, visiting his presidentes, procurors, and chiefe officers, finding amongest them faultes of great enormitie, did punishe the same with most cruell chastisementes. The cause is not vnknowen of the displeasure that Adrian did beare vnto Antioche, which hatred was so greate, that he trauailed to diuide Syria from Phœnicia, to the ende that Antioche shoulde not be the head of so many prouinces. Visiting also the whole countrie of Arabia, he came vnto the renoumed citie of Pelusio, onely to visite the sepulture of the great Pompeius, which he renued and enriched, and also did offer greate and sumptuous sacrifices, in the honour of the great Pompeius: wherof the Romaine people being aduertised, receiued no small delight. He did not onely honour the sepulture of Pompeius, but also gaue greate rewardes vnto the people of Pelusio, because they had that sepulchre in reuerence, placing vppon the sepulchre with his owne handes this verse as followeth: Ossa viri magni, tenui quam clausa sepulchro.

Howe small a tumbe of lime and stones,
Conteines a valiant warriours bones.

CHAP. XII.

¶ Of the great liberalitie that Adrian vsed, and some cruelties that he committed.

One of the thinges, wherin the Emperour Adrian deserued most iustly to be praised was, ỹ w̃ al mẽ he vsed

great magnificence and liberalitie: for that naturally, in receiuing he was a niggard: but in giuing very bountifull. There was not euer any thing demaunded, that he gaue not: if it were not preuented by some others suite, which alwayes he did recomfort with hope for time to come.

" The rewardes of his noblenesse, was the gift of townes, " cities, castles, Prouinces, kingdomes, mountaines, riuers, " flockes or heardes, salt marishes, milles, offices: and not " onely such as hapned in the gouernement of the common " wealth: but also he gaue the horsses out of his stable, the " garments for his person, the prouision for his dispences, " and the money for his chamber: in such wise, that to deli- " uer others from necessitie, he brought him selfe in to " want of prouision. Adrian in his life was noted of di- uers weaknesses and defections, which were both coloured and couered, with his large and bountifull giftes.

Great were the rewardes that he gaue vnto Epiteus, and Eliodorus philosophers: but much more was his liberalitie towardes Phauorinus, bycause he both gaue him great goodes, and honour in the common wealth. His custome was, when he sent for any to serue him in the warres, to giue him al things necessarie for ỹ same, that is to say, armour to fight, & money to spend. Adrian being aduertised of a noble gentleman of Numidia, named Malacon, a man both valiant & warlike: who refusing to receiue the vsuall rewarde that Adrian gaue vnto suche as did accompanie him in warres, sayde vnto him: It is more reason that I should preuent thée, in doing mine office, then thou shouldest precede mée in doing thy dutie: which is to say, that before thou beginne to fight, I shoulde beginne to gratifie thée: for in the end, it is much more that thou doest for me, in aduenturing thy life, then I in rewarding thée with my goods. Many times Adrian would boast him selfe, that he coulde neuer remember that he had eaten alone, but alwayes did eate in the companie of Philosophers that disputed in Philosophie: eyther else of capteines, that did talke and conferre in matters of warre.

He was neate in his apparell, curious and delicate in his diet. Examining the order of the diet of his housholde, and finding the prouision prouided for the honour thereof, to be imbeziled and purloyned by officers, he commaunded them to be whipt, and turned out of his gates: for notwithstanding, he had a noble mynde, to giue a Prouince for a reward, he had not patience to suffer or endure, the deceit or stealth of a pennie. Adrian was a man both seuere, gladsome, graue, courteous, pleasant, suffering, rashe, patient, furious, a sauer, liberall, a dissembler, pitifull, & cruell: finally, he was variable in his vices, and inconstant in vertues: bycause he did not long abstaine from euill, eyther long continue in doing good. Adrian vnto his friendes, was bothe gratefull and vnkinde: that is to say, he gaue them much goods, and did not much esteeme their honour. Great inconuenience did followe the Emperour Adrian, for his infidelitie and want of faith vnto his friendes: which did most clearely shewe it selfe in Tatianus, Nietus, Seuerus, and Septitius: whom at one time he helde for friends, & after did persecute them as enimies. Eudemius a noble Gentleman of Rome, he was so great a frend with Adrian, that he offered sacrifices vnto the gods to giue him the Empire: and after Adrian did beare him so great hatred, that he did persecute him, not onely to cast him out of Rome, but also vntill he had brought him to extreme pouertie. Polenus and Marcellus, were of Adrian so euil handled and persecuted, that they chose rather to dye with their owne handes: then to liue vnder his gouernement. Eliodorus, a most famous man in letters, both Græke and Latine, was not onely of Adrian persecuted, but also put to death, and torne in pieces: whose death was much bewailed for that he was profitable vnto the whole comon wealth. Oluidius, Quadratus, Catalius, & Turbon, auncient Consuls, were by Adrian persecuted, although not put to death, bycause euery one seeking to saue his life, were banished Rome and all Italie. The noble Consul Seuerianus, husbande vnto Sabina, sister vnto

„ Adrian, of the age of a hundred and ninetie yeares, was „ constrained to dye, for no more, but for that he had repor„ ted to haue liued the death of thirtene Emperours, & that „ if Adrian should dye first, it should make vp the number „ of xiiij. the which, when Adrian vnderstode, he rather de„ termined to take him from amongest the liuing, then he „ should reckon him amongst the deade. In all things Adrian was very wel learned: that is to say, reading, writing, singing, painting, fighting, hunting, playing, and disputing: but that he had therewith a tache or a fault: which was, that if he knewe muche, he presumed much, wherein he was noted of all men, bycause he scorned all men. After he entered into Aegypt, he gaue him selfe vnto Astrologie: and held for custome yearely to write out of that science, of al things that should happen that yeare: which also he did in the yeare that he dyed, but obteined not the knowledge thereof.

Adrian in one thing did séeme to excell, in that he neuer desired the knowledge of any facultie, art, or science: but that he procured to be singular. He ouercame many warres with armes, but he did appease and cut off many more with giftes: bicause vnto diuers peoples, cities, and townes, he gaue libertie and priuileges, and to his Lords and viceroyes, he gaue great rewardes. Although in some particular things, touching both friendes and enimies, he shewed him selfe both affectionate, and also passionate: vniuersally, as touching the weale of the common welth, Adrian was alwayes friend in ministring iustice. When there happened any graue matters, at the souden, he wold furiously be altered: but at the time of iudgement and determinatiõ, seriously he did both consider & examine them. He did sildome determine matters without counsel, and to this end chiefly vsed the aduice of Siluius and Neratius, the most learned of that age, and approued by the Senate. Naturally, he was of an vnquiet heart, and of condition intermedling. It did happen vnto him many times in reading of histories, when he found of any place or coũtrie,

trie, that was possessed of any extremitie, or singularitie, that he could not come to the viewe thereof, with extreme desire, he did many times growe both sicke and sorrowfull. Notwithstanding he was large and of great magnanimitie with Philosophers, with countries, with men of warre, and with his friends: much more was his magnificence to the ministers of iustice: and being demaunded of Fauorinus, why he was so boũtiful vnto them, answered: I make the ministers of iustice riche: bycause, by robberie of iustice, they shall not make other men poore.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the lawes that Adrian made.

MAny and right necessarie lawes were made by Adrian, whiche were approued by the Senate, and receiued of the common wealth, and long time obserued. He did ordeine, that if any man would remoue from one citie to an other, that at his owne libertie he might sell his house, but not to aduenture to pull it downe, eyther to sel or make profite of the stuffe therof: bycause the authoritie of a common wealth is impayred, when the buildings be ruinated. He did also ordeine, that when any man was condemned to dye for offences of great enormitie, and his goodes confiscate, that his children, shoulde inioy the tenth part of those goodes: in suche wise, that for that, whiche was taken from them, they had to bewaile the offence of their fathers, and for that which was giuen them, they shoulde feele, and also commende the clemencie of the Prince.

Also there were certaine cases forbidden, in whiche if any man did fall, or incurre, he was accused as if he had committed great treason againste the estate Royall of

of the Prince: all whiche Adrian did remoue and annihilate: affirming, that those lawes, were but of small seruice, to the behoofe of the Prince, and to the great offence of the common wealth. Also the Romaine Princes did vse to inherite the goods of straungers: wherin Adrian did ordeine, that the children, or the next of the kinne shoulde inioye the same. Also he ordeined, that what so euer he were, that founde hid treasure, in his owne inheritaunce, should inioy the whole: and if it were founde in an other mans inheritaunce, the owner thereof should haue the one moitie: and if it were founde in publike or common place, that then it should be equally parted with the Confiscator. Also he ordeined, that no man what so euer, of his own authoritie should kill his slaue, for any offence: but to be remitted vnto the Iudge, deputed by the Prince. Also he made a lawe of reformation, both for eating of superfluous meates, and also for wearing of garments, eyther to many, or ouer costly. Also he did ordeine, that none what so euer, should goe or be carried in a litter: and one whiche he had, he commaunded for example, to be burnt, in the market place. He also commaunded that Consuls, and Senatours, within the compasse of Rome, should weare their gownes, whiche was a garment of peace. He also ordeined, that yong men that wanted their parentes, shuld haue tutors vnto the age of fiue and twentie yeares: although they were married. He also did ordeine, that no slaue should be solde, eyther man or woman, to any ruffian, iester, or iuggler: affirming the possession of slaues, to be most vniust, vnto suche as wander in idlenesse all the dayes of their life. Also he did ordeine, that merchants, or suche as dealt with exchaunge, that brake their credite, or were bankrupts without iust cause, but only of couetousnesse, by defraude to inrich them selues: to be set vpon the pillorie in the market place, and afterwardes to be banished Rome for euermore. He did ordeine, that none what so euer, should suffer execution within the citie of Rome: affirming, that so generous a citie, and consecrate vnto the Gods,

Gods, were not conuenient to be defiled with the bloude of wicked men. Also he did ordeine, that men and women shoulde haue their seuerall bathes, and that who so euer should enter into the forbidden place, to suffer death for the same. Also he did ordaine, that neyther for the Prince or Consuls, any victuals should be taken from any man: but that euery man might sell to whome he would, where he would, and how he might. He did ordeine, that no woman shuld aduẽture to heale with words, eyther that any man shuld presume to cure with cõpound medicines: but to performe all their cures, with simple hearbes. In buildings he did chiefly imitate his Lord Traiane: that is to say, that in all countries, Prouinces, and kingdomes, where he had bene, he erected many and very famous buildings: wherein it is to be noted, that he neuer placed his owne name, but in the temple of Traiane. In Rome, in a manner he wholy renued the temple named Pantheus, dedicated vnto the Goddesse Berecyntha, and where all the Gods were honoured. The fielde of Mars in olde time was compassed, and by great antiquitie the buildings faine flat vnto the grounde: wherein Adrian did not only renue the decayed wals, but also did furnish ẏ same wᵭ very stately buildings. He edified the reall palace named Neptunus, he enlarged the palace of Augustus, he reedified the bath of Tyberius, he much aduaunced the temple of Titus: in all these edifices, he placed the names of the Princes that in times past built them, and not his owne name whiche had reedified them. From the foũdation he built a stately bridge, which was afterwards named Adrians bridge. He made also for him selfe a sepulchre, ioyning vnto ẏ riuer Tyber, ẏ stones whereof were brought from India, and the workemen out of Greece. He translated the temple of the Goddesse of good Fortune, and the figure of Decian the artificer that was placed therein: that was of so great weight, that hardly foure & twentie Elephants might remoue ẏ same, the whithe figure was dedicated vnto the Sunne: Adrian did erect one other to be dedicated vnto the Moone,

of

of no lesse weight or riches then the other: whereof the great Polydore was workman. He built in Rome a certaine building, which many yeares after was named, the mole of Adrian: and at these dayes is called, the castle of of Saint Angelo. He remoued many riuers out of their chanels to water the fieldes, brought many fountaines, for prouision of cities. In Greece he edified a citie, which in time past, was named Adrianopolis. In the kingdome of Palestine, he reedified the great citie Hierusalem, which had bene destroyed by Titus and Vespasian, and gaue it for name, Elia, for that his owne name was Elius Adrianus.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of some of his gratious and pythie sentences.

The Emperour Adrian was a Prince, not only sharpe of iudgement, and prouident in his affaires, but also of great vrbanitie, and gratious in speache. And the case
„ was thus, that Fauorinus a very friende to Adrian, ha-
„ uing an olde house, at the enterie whereof, he had raysed a
„ stately porche paynted white, he sayde vnto him: This
„ house of thine, seemeth a gilded pill, whiche outwardly
„ giueth pleasure, but within is full of bitternesse. An other
„ friende of Adrians, named Siluius, very blacke of face, and
„ of euill shape of body, and comming on a certaine day vnto
„ the Palace, all clad in white: Adrian sayde vnto those
„ that were present: That blacke face with that white gar-
„ ment, seemeth no other but a flye drowned in a sponefull
„ of mylke. The Emperour Adrian, vppon a time from
„ his Palace, beholde a Senatour, in a long blacke gowne,
„ wearing vpon the same a short crimson cloake in graine:

and

and demaunding, why he did weare such apparell in that place: the Senatour answered. Syr, I walke here with " this red cloake, to see if my good hap may chaunce to fish " some faire Ladie. Whereunto Adrian readily answered: " Thou seemest rather a red worme to fish frogs, then as a " man enamoured to fishe Ladies. A certaine person with a hoarie heade, craving a rewarde, whiche at that time the Emperour denyed: the sayde hoare headed fellowe, remembring him selfe, pouling his heade, and shaving his bearde, came againe unto the Emperour, to renue his suite: and Adrian beholding howe he was altered, made fresh, and growne young, did answere: That which now thou craevest, I denyed vnto thy father. They helde in Rome many fierce beastes, to magnifie a daye of greate feasting: and when certaine Senatours sayde unto Adrian, that it was somewhat late, and highe time to go chace the beasts, he made answere: Ye might better haue sayd, to be chaced of them, then the beasts to be chaced of men: for if there be ten that dare abide them, there be ten myllians that runne away.

There was in Rome, a certaine man named Enatius, " somewhat entered in age, and of naturall condition, mu- " tinous, ambitious, importune, intermedling, quarellous, & " full of garboyle: and being aduertised that Enatius was " deade, he fell into a greate laughter, and sware, that he " could not a little maruell, howe he coulde intend to dye: " considering his great businesse both night and daye. A " certaine auncient citizen comming unto the Emperour Adrian, for certaine suites and causes propounding his demaunde, and also replying an answere without intermission, removing without all manner, any meane for the Emperour to speake, answered: Friende, if thou feede on both cheekes, we may not eate both together: Surely, it was an answere very fayre, and of great vrbanitie: for, thereby he gaue him to vnderstande, that if he both propounde and answere, he could not give him iustice.

There

" There was a Senatour in Rome, named Fabius Cato, of
" auncient yeares, and amongst the people, in great credite:
" but ioyntly therewith he was a man of a small stature,
" which would sone be offended, and as sone be pleased: vn-
" to whome on a time Adrian sayde: Since your chimney
" is so small, you must beware to lay much wood vpon the
" fire: for otherwise it will be alwayes smoakie.

CHAP. XV.

Of the thinges that he did woorthy prayse, and some other things worthy dispraise,

The Emperour Adrian, did vse and intreate such as did serue him, very well and with great affection: but he might not indure them, to presume to be ouer priuate: for he would say, that he held them not to commaund him, but to serue him: and grewe not a little displeased, with such as were not moderate in their dedes, and courteous in their wordes. Being in Spaine in the citie of Taragon, he beheld in a garden, one of his meane seruaunts, walking betwixt two Senatours: vnto whome he commaunded to be giuen a great blowe, with this aduertisement: The Emperour commandeth this blow to be giuen thee, bycause thou shalt be ashamed to presume to walke, with such as thou art bound to serue. In his dyet he was neyther temperate, much lesse a gormound that vsed excesse: for that he left not to eate of any thing, in respect of health, or vertue: but without dyet, did eate, both what and whē he liked. In wine he had a good rellish, and at times dranke thereof so frankly, that he hindered the health of his person, and also the credite of his fame. There was in his dayes great earthquakes, pestilences, dearth, and hunger: in which calamities, he shewed him selfe a pitifull Prince, and of great magnanimitie: bycause in time of hunger, he

gaue

gaue the people wherewith to be sustained, and in time of earthquakes, money to reedifie. He discharged many cities of their whole tributes, and to others some part he released: in suche wise, that in all his Empire there was no citie, that newly receiued not, some benefite at his hande, eyther deliuered not from some olde payment. In the first yeare of his Empire, the riuer Tyber did so ouerflowe, that three dayes damage thereof, was not repayred in three yeares. He was of the men of warre much feared, for that he did chastise them: and no lesse beloued, because he did pay them. The chiefest cause, of his great prayse in Chronicles, or of writers of histories, and the tender affection that the Romaines did beare him, proceeded, that in time of peace, he helde his men of warre in great ciuilitie: and in time of warre, he gouerned the common wealth, as if it had béene in peace. Alwayes when the Senatours repayred vnto him, eyther to eate, or for affaires, he did alwayes entertaine them standing: and if they were Consuls, he came forth to receiue them, and if they were Judges, he did rise when they came before him: and if they were officers of the Senate, he would somewhat stoupe or nod with the head: in suche wise, that with all, he vsed greate courtesie: and in speache and conference, no lesse vrbanitie. To repaire temples, to prouide priestes, and to offer sacrifices, he was a Prince both carefull and diligent: and ioyntly therewith it is to be noted, he consented not to the inuention of newe deuices, and muche lesse did he admit straunge customes.

CHAP. XVI.

Whome Adrian did adopt to succeede him in his Empire.

AFter the Emperour Adrian had trauelled in a manner throughout the world, by sea and lande, and passed both colde and heate, he fell into a grieuous sickneſſe: he

himselfe, giuing occasion therof, for that in his dyet, either in the time of heate, or colde, did sildome or hardly vse any order. Presently vpon his sickneſſe, his heart was touched with great care, vpon the determination, whom he should adopt to the succession of the Empire: because many did followe him, that did much desire it, but verie fewe that did deserue it. The death of Seuerian, Dion doth report, was after this manner. Adrian on a certaine daye at his dinner, sayd vnto the Consuls that sate at his table: I would haue you name me ten men, in science learned, and sincere of life: vnto one of which I may commend, after my dayes, the estate of the common wealth. They all vsing silence vnto that demaund, Adrian sayd: reckon me but nine, for I haue one, and such a one, as is my brother in lawe, Seuerian: for that he hath both age, and grauitie. After a fewe dayes, that these things did passe, Adrian being in great daunger through a flure of bloude, that brake forth without ceasing at his nose: doubting that first his life shoulde haue finished, before the bloude would haue staunched: did point with his finger, Lucius Cõmodus to be his successour. And after recouering more health, he was aduertised, that Seuerian and Fuscus his nephew, continued murmuring, at that whiche he had commaunded: and that vnto him the Empire was not directed: Adrian beganne to disdaine and abhorre him with great hatred. This Seuerian of the age of ninetie yeares, Adrian commaunded to be slaine: because he set him selfe in the imperiall chaire, and gaue vnto such as were in fauour with the Emperour, a solemne supper, and because in secrete, he had conference with the capteines of warres. Before that Seuerian dyed, hée determined to haue giuen the Empire vnto the Consul Fuscus, which was his nephewe: but when Adrian vnderstoode, that Fuscus had conference with Magicians and Sothsayers, to be aduertised, if he should inioy the Empire, he put him to death: in suche wise, that he both lost the inheritaunce, and also his life. Pletorius Metus, came to visite Adrian in his sickneſſe:

which being his great frend, he would neither heare nor see: because he did imagine, ỹ he came not to visite, but to inherite. Gentian the Consul, a noble and auncient Romaine, also he persecuted, for no other cause, but for that he vnderstode, he was both liked and honoured of the Senate: and that all men did hope hée shoulde succéede him in the Empire. The Emperour Adrian did neuer shewe him selfe so cruell in his life, as he did somewhat before his death: because all those that he thought, did hope to succéede him in the Empire, he commaunded to be banished or slayne. Being sicke in a village, named Tiburtina, of a flure of bloude, where he remained many dayes bothe desperate, vnruly, and out of temper: for that he had no patience, to thinke that he shoulde dye, and an other shoulde succéede him.

There was alwayes some vnkindnesse betwirt him, and the empereſſe Sabina, but in the end, Adrian vsed such skill, that secretly he gaue poyson vnto his wife Sabina, whereby she finished hir life, and he lost his suspicion. When Adrian perceiued that of necessitie he must néeds dye, and that an other must haue his Empire, he appointed Cenoio for his successour, sonne in lawe vnto Niger: and this he did against the mindes of all them whiche did serue him, and also of all such as did best loue him: because many others séemed to be of more deseruing, and also of more abilitie to gouerne the Empire. Vnto this Cenoio he gaue the name of Elio vero Cæsar: and to the ende it should be gratefull vnto the people, and confirmed of the Senate: he gaue them the Circen playes, which was vnto them very acceptable, & did distribute throughout Rome, foure thousand Sextercies. Presently vpon the adoptiõ of Cenoio, he gaue him the Pretourship, he placed him before the Panoniaes, which were admitted to goe nert his person, did create him the second time Consul, did set him at his owne table, and did permit to accompanie him in the litter: finally, Adrian did intreate him as his sonne, and all did serue him as their Lord.

Presently after that, Cenoio was adopted, he fell sicke, of the disease of death: in suche wise, as he had not leasure to giue thankes vnto the Senate: whereof Adrian being aduertised, sayde vnto the Senate: Vnto a weake wall were we staied, that day when Cenoio was elected. Cenoio dyed in the Kalends of Januarie, for which cause he was not bewailed of the people: for that moneth being dedicated vnto the God Ianus, no Romaine durst bewaile the dead, eyther vtter any sorrowes for the liuing. Adrian finding him selfe more oppressed with infirmitie, did adopt and declare Antoninus Pius his successour: vpon condition, that he should adopt the good Marcus Aurelius, and his brother Annius Verus. The adoption of Antoninus, was displeasant vnto som, but especially vnto Attilius Seuerus who with great care did solicite the Empire for him selfe: and at that time being Prefect of the citie, some he did corrupt with money, and some with faire promises: but Adrian being aduertised of ỹ web that Attilius had in hande, did not commaund him to be slaine, but to be banished all Italie.

CHAP. XVII.

Howe and where the Emperour Adrian dyed.

On the day that Adrian commaunded the olde Seuerian to be put to death, before the executioner came to cut his throte, in a vessel he put certaine coles, adding thervnto some incense, lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, he said: You immortall Gods I take to witnesse, if I be culpable wherein I am accused, and for which this daye I am condemned and put to death, and ioyntly therewith I request and beseech you, that in testimonie of my innocencie, ye giue me no other reuengement: but that when Adrian shall desire to dye, he may not dye.

For the time that the Consul Seuerian was executed, Adrian neuer inioyed one day of health, but many times desired to dye, and sought occasions to kyll him selfe: but

but Antoninus Pius vnderstanding thereof, commaunded him to be guarded by daye, and watched by night. Being assayled with extreme infirmitie, and not able eyther to eate, or sleepe, he many times sought venome to drinke, sometimes he would haue a knife to kill him selfe, sometimes he wold not eate, by pure hũger to hasten his death: whereof the Senate being aduertised, they did humbly craue, that it might please his excellencie, to haue patience in that infirmitie, since the Gods were pleased to lengthen his life. Adrian was much despited, with this suite of the Senate: and so much displeased with him that sayd it, that he should be taken and put to death. Adrian had a Barbar named Mastor, both faithfull and valiaunt, that did attend on his person when he did hunt, being his auncient seruaunt: whom he did most instantly desire, and secretly threaten, to dispatch him of his life: but the barbar being terrified, to heare such wordes, fled out at gates. By chaunce he recouered a knife into his handes, wherewith he would haue dispatched him selfe: but by force it was taken from him, but therewith and from thence forwarde, more desirous to dye, and his life more hatefull vnto him. Adrian had also a Physician borne in Africa, this man he did most instantly requeste, to minister vnto him some poyson, to finish his sorrowful and most wretched life: so hatefull vnto him selfe: but the Physician was so faithfull vnto his lord, & not able to resist the suit of his souereigne, determined to drink ỹ same, & to die. Adrian holding him self, for ỹ most vnfortunat, & the extremest wretch in distresse, that so much desired death, and could not but liue: & most truly ỹ suit of Seuerian vnto the gods, was most throughly perfourmed in him: that is to say, that they woulde inlarge his life, when he should desire to dye. Antoninus Pius being now declared, and confirmed for Cęsar, and Adrian euery day finding him selfe to growe in weakneste, departed from Rome, vnto the port of Baias, where he remained, vsing many experiences in medicines and Physicke: which for his health did little profite, and to shorten

his life, gaue some assistaunce. Adrian dyed in that port of Baias, the first day of July: and was buried in a village named Ciceroniana. He liued threescore and two yeares, and reigned one and twentie yeares, fiue monethes, and sixtene dayes. Before Adrian dyed, he commaunded this verse to be placed vpon his sepulchre. *Turba medicorum, Regem interfecit.* Which is to say, The Emperour Adrian by trusting Physicians, gaue so hastie an end vnto his yeares.

The life of the Emperour Antoninus Pius, compiled by Syr Anthonie of Gueuara, Bishop of Mõdonnedo, Preacher, Chronicler, & Counseler vnto Charles the fifte.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the lineage and countrie of the Emperour Antoninus Pius.

THe naturall countrie of the Emperour Antoninus Pius, was of Gallia Transalpina, whiche is as muche to say, of swéte Fraunce: and was borne in a citie named Nemesa, whiche from the time of Iulius Cæsar, was established a Colonell of Rome. His grandfather was named Titus Fuluius, a man both generous and valiaunt, who in the times that Iulius Cæsar did conquer Fraunce, did vtter his greate parcialitie in the behalfe of the Romaine Empire: for whiche cause after the warres were ended, he came to Rome. Titus Fuluius in passing into

into Italie, and setling in Rome, had happie and great successe: for the Fathers of the Senate, besides their recompence for seruice, they made him a citizen of Rome. He had suche skill to profite him selfe by that libertie, and proued so cunning to content the people, that within the space of foure yeares, he was twice Consul, once Gouernour of the citie, and once Judge: in suche wise, that his vertue was more beneficiall then others, to be naturall of the countrie.

The father of Antoninus Pius, was named Fuluius Aurelius: a man vertuous and learned, and no lesse then his grandfather Titus, was twice Consul: his grandmother of the mothers side, was named Bobinia, and the father of his mother, whiche was, Arrius Antoninus, was no lesse estéemed in the Romaine Empire, then was his other grãdfather: for he was Judge two yeres, Maister of the horsse men one yeare, Tribune of the people an other yeare, and in the ende, two times Consul. This Arrius Antoninus, was a great persecuter of Domitian, a great friende of Nerua, and verie priuate with Traiane: whiche when he perceiued Nerua to accept the Empire being so olde, he had greate compassion of him, and sayde these wordes: My friende Nerua, I giue thee to vnderstande, eyther it is some cursse from thy predecessours, or some vengeaunce that the Goddes will take of thee: since they permitte thee to take the Empire, and at the time of most neede, to haue counsell, they depriue thee of thy sound and good iudgement.

The good olde Nerua, did so sensibly féele these wordes, spoken by his friende Antoninus, that had it not béene by the great importunitie of Traiane, he had presently renounced the Empire: which if he had done, as afterwards he did, he had not erred: bycause his age was too greate, and his strength but weake. Antoninus Pius had a father in lawe, named Iulius Lupus, which long time was a Senatour, that desired not to beare office, but with his patrimonie to liue in quietnesse.

Antoninus Pius married with the daughter of Annius Verus, who was named Annia Fauſtina, a woman of excelling beautie, and this was mother vnto the famous Fauſtine, wife vnto the great Emperour Marcus Aurelius. Antoninus Pius, and Fauſtine his wife had two ſonnes, which died in their youth: and alſo two daughters, of which the elder was married vnto the Conſul Sillanus, which alſo died in their youth. The ſecond daughter (as the mother) was named Fauſtine, & married vnto Marcus Aurelius, in whome the ſucceſſion of the Empire did remaine. Antoninus Pius had but one ſiſter, named Iulia Fadilla, whome he tenderly loued: not onely, for that he had no more, but becauſe they were twinnes and borne both at a birth, Antoninus Pius was borne the xiii. daye of October, at a certeine place named Laurina: which afterwardes he did nobilitate with ſtately buyldinges, and indued with great priuileges, and alſo did amplifie the boundes thereof, which were but ſhort and narrowe. In the moſte time of his infancie, he was nouriſhed with his fathers father: and being more entred into yeres, he continued with his other graund father by the mothers ſide: and was ſo vertuous and ſo well inclined, that he was pleaſing vnto all men, and beloued of all perſons: he attained to be knowen vnto all his grandfathers both of father and mother, who all fired their eyes vppon Antoninus, as well to inueſt him with learning, as to endue him with riches and wealth: for, as he afterwards reported of them, they vſed to ſaye, that they fauoured him more for his vertue, then for affinitie. With his graundfathers he learned both tounges of Greeke and Latine, he gaue him ſelfe more to Coſmographie, then to any other ſcience, and did muche delight to talke with men of ſtraunge nations, to giue them to vnderſtande, that he did knowe all the particularities of their countries, by ſcience, as they did by experience. Being ſo intirely beloued of his graundfathers, they helde him alwayes in company with Philoſophers: who of his owne naturall condition, delighted not,

but

but in the company of the vertuous: whereof it procéded, that after he became so cruell an enimie vnto the wicked, and so perfect a friend vnto good men. The customes and companies that Princes do take in their youth: they loue and followe afterwardes when they be men.

CHAP. II.

¶Of the inclination, proportion, and naturall fashion of his bodie.

ANtoninus Pius was of an high stature, slender and very streight, his eyes somewhat outward, black hayre, thicke beard, white, rare, and gaptothed, his face white, merrie, gladsome, and faire, in such wise, that he did rather prouoke, to be loued, then feared. Naturally, he was of great health: his téeth excepted, which he lost before he came to age. When a certeine cunning man made offer to be bound to place him téethe wherewith to speake and eate: Antoninus made him aunswere: Since neuer from my harte proceeded fained or double woords: there shall neuer enter into my mouth, counterfete teeth. The want of his téeth, made him to eat with paine, and stutter in his spéeche. Being touched with a Jester for his stammering, Antoninus aunswered: I recke not greatly to stumble in wordes, so that I erre not, and stand vp right in deedes. In Rome there was a Senatour named Taurinus, liberall in spéeche, and not sober in diet, who reprouing Antoninus for that his téeth failed him, bothe to eate and speake, aunswering, saide: I consent to that which thou saiest: for that I, if I woulde, may not be a glutton: but thou maist, and wilt not leaue to be malicious. Many Princes did excell Antoninus Pius in science, but none did matche him in eloquence: for that ordinarily, he did talke in the Latine tounge, & did dispute in the Greeke. He was naturally very well conditioned, which had in him moste apparance, for that alwayes his woords

were without malice, and his thoughtes without suspicion. Although he were of complexion cholerike sanguine which giueth men occasion to be rashe and soudein, it had no place in Antoninus Pius, for that he was constant in aduersities, and patient in iniuries. When in his presence they saide any wordes that did grieue or offende him, or brought him any sorrowfull newes: in biting of his lipp, in casting downe his eyes, and laying one hand vpon another, they vnderstood his great sorrow: but ioyntly herewith, he was neuer seene of any man, soudeinly to chaunge countenaunce, muche lesse to speake any cruell or iniurious worde. Before he was Emperour, he was the welthiest man of all the Empire: for that he did inherite from his foure graundfathers, greate and ample patrimonies: vnto whome he was sole inheritour. He was giuen to gather, conserue and augment his goodes, riches and wealth, but without all oppression to any person, for that he liued onely of him selfe, defrauding no man of his suite. After he obteined the Empire, when by chaunce any talke was moued of the couetousnesse of men, and of the necessitie of Princes, many times he would saye: I giue thankes to the immortall Gods, that since I haue beene Emperour, I haue not taken any thing from any man: either before, that euer I was benighted with debt.

" He had great affection to the workes of the fielde, and
" therein had not onely the toles and thinges necessarie for
" the purpose: that is to saye, buffes, oxen, cartes, ploughes,
" but he him self would be occupied in sowing corne, cutting
" vines, pruning trées, and at times would take the plough,
" and make a dozen of furrowes. He was extreme in nothing, but that in, and for all thinges, he placed him selfe in the middest: which he did very well discouer in the gouernement of his person and estate: wherein, neither for his prodigall expence, he was noted proude: either for want of a noble minde, estéemed a niggard. Many times the Heauens being cleare, and a settled faire weather in apparance, he would saye: vppon suche a daye wee shall haue

haue raine, or chaunge of weather, wherein he neuer erred: and manye times did auouche, that the knowledge thereof proceeded not of science, either of Philosophie, but of certeine experiences, which he gathered, when he vsed the labour of the fielde. When on a certeine time, with his knife he was pruning of a plumb tree in his orcharde ioyning vnto the high way, a Senatour saide vnto him: since you are an Emperour, ceasse to vse the office of a labourer, vnto whome Antoninus aunswered: it is lesse euil for an Emperour to prune trees in his orcharde, then to consume lost time in his palace. He was very attentiue to that which was saide, and curiously he did consider, what others did: chiefely to the ende to attaine knowledge: for that naturally, he was sharpe and of delicate iudgement. He was alwayes occupied, either in reading, studying, disputing, or doing somethinge with his handes: and wherein he wanted skill, he disdained not to craue to be taught. Alwayes for the more parte, he went bare headed, through much heate he had therein: and one aduising him, the ayre of Rome to be very hurtfull, and therefore right necessarie to haue his head couered, aunswered: assure mée from troubles of men on earth, and I am assured that nothing shall offende mée, which the Gods shal send mée from Heauen. He was of him selfe excellent in Musike, delighted therein, and a greate friende to Musicians. Antoninus Pius, was suche and so good, that all heartes did loue him, all toungs did praise him, and all suche as did not knowe him, but by reporte, had him in admiration: finally, he was compared vnto Numa Pompilius, because in him there were not more vertues to be desired, either one onely vice to be reprehended.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

¶ The workes of pietie which he did, and the cause, why he was intituled Antoninus Pius.

ANnius Verus, father of the first Faustine, and father in lawe vnto Antoninus Pius, became so olde, that he was not able to sit on horsebacke, either to go on foote, but that he was led and staide by the arme, to saye his opinion in the Senate: because, from olde putrified men, ripe and sound counsels do proceede. Antoninus Pius beeing the man that delighted to leade his old father, did not only giue him way in foule places, but in going vp of staires, did rather seeme to beare him, then leade him. Passing on
" a certeine day, and beholding an olde man named Iulianus
" led vnto prison for debt, and vnderstanding the cause, he
" presently payed the same, and added a worke of more pit-
" tie, that payde not onely all his debtes, but gaue him also
" to susteine him & his house. For that a penall lawe, prouided in that behalf, that by iustice or otherwise, none shuld shead bloud within the compasse of Rome: for this cause at the gate Salaria, a place deputed for execution of offenders, and maisters also did there chastice their seruaunts: and thus it chaunced, that Antoninus Pius, passing that way, found there, many slaues bounde and beaten moste cruelly: he conceiued so great pitie, to see them so beaten without pitie, that presently he bought them all: and the same daye he bought them, the verie same daye he made
" them free. From his youth it was his inclination to visite
" the sicke, and to accompany suche as were in sorrowe, di-
" stresse, and out of comfort: wherein the good Antoninus
" did so muche vtter the griefe, that he had of their griefe, &
" he so much sorrowed of their sorrowe, that no man did so
" sensibly feele his owne griefe, as he did bewaile the mis-
" fortune of others.

An

An auncient Romaine widowe, which had but one sonne, whose misfortune was to kill another young man, and being condemned to dye, the sorowfull mother came lamẽting, wailing, and crying vnto the Emperour Antoninus: with whome he did so earnestly and so grieuously wæpe, as if it had bæne his owne sonne. And being aduertised by his friendes, and his most speciall and priuate seruaunts, how euil it became him to wæpe with and like a woman, aunswered: that sorrowfull woman came to craue helpe and succour for her sonne; and for that I may not relieue her with some remedie, I did assist to bewaile her mischaunce.

The Romaines had a custome, to leaue the dead bodies of men executed in the fieldes: but Antoninus Pius was the first that gaue order for such bodies to be buried: affirming it sufficient, to take from men their liues, and not to fæde beastes with their carcases. From the time of the proude Tarquine, the Romaines held for custome, to giue malefactours great tormentes: the good Antoninus did take away all tortures, wherwith the members of mans bodie was put in daunger: saying, that the torment was sufficient that were to chastice, but not to dismember. Fabatus, Dioscorus, Lipolus, Macrinus, Fuluius, Torquatus, Eucenius, Bruscos, and Emilius, whereof foure being Consuls, thræ Iudges, and two Pretors, and banished by Adrian, Antoninus gaue them all pardon: and for that many did mislike this dæde, affirming it to be done to the preiudice of the fame and memorie of Adrian, he aunswered: Adrian my Lorde did not erre in that which he then did: and I thinke I do not erre in that which I nowe doe: because then, he did it to profite him selfe by his iustice, as I nowe doe to obteine aduauntage by clemencie. Whether so euer he went, either in Rome or other places of Italie, wækely he did visite the prisoners, and the powe which he found there for debt, he commaunded the creditours with his owne money to be payde: and after that he had thræ times paide for one man, and the fourth time found

found in prison for debt: he commaunded him to be deliuered vnto his creditour for his slaue. A fewe dayes after this commaundement, his clemencie not able to endure so rigorous Iustice: notwithstanding the sentence was moste iust, he prouided at his owne cost once more to buy and to giue libertie vnto that poore man. As before recited, when Adrian was sicke, and so distempered with his infirmities, that some he commaunded to be taken, some banished, and some put to death: but Antoninus Pius being adopted Augustus, and being inuested with the whole gouernement, did neither arrest, banishe, or kill them: but onely commaunded to absent them selues, and not to appeare in his presence. Amongest all the notable workes of pietie that Antoninus did perfourme, was, that Adrian striuing and watching to kill him selfe, Antoninus did ouerwatche to preserue a liue: being moste true according to sensualitie, he shoulde haue procured, and not haue giuen any impediment to haue finished his life: since vnto him, bothe house, goods, and estate shoulde succéde.

The Senatours, & many other magistrates of Rome, did attempt to annihilate the lawes, and monumentes of Adrian: whiche Antoninus did most stiffely denye, withstand and repulse: and in the ende not onely did cause all his actes to be ratified, confirmed, and allowed: but also did frame and bring to passe with the Senate, that Adrian should be accompted amongest the Gods. He built in the honour of Adrian a moste solemne temple in a certeine place, named Pusoll, and did furnishe the same with Priestes to serue him, and endued them with rents to find them, and were commonly named Adrians priests. In the honour of Adrian, he did institute certeine playes, intituled Lustra, to be played euery fifth yere, for the maintenaunce whereof, he gaue great rentes.

Before Adrian died, he had made for him selfe a sumptuous sepulchre neare vnto the riuer Tiber, whether Antoninus brought him to be buried, and brought to passe

passe with the Senatours, and the people of Rome, to receiue him with no lesse honour, then if he had bene a liue. No Prince had reigned in the Empire, that had not bene noted either cruell, or of small pietie, Antoninus Pius excepted: whoe with his tounge, neuer commaunded man to be slaine: either woulde euer firme sentence of death, or euer woulde beholde any man executed: because so greate was his clemencie, that he might not beholde the sheading of bloud.

CHAP. IIII.

¶Of the woordes that Adrian saide vnto the Senate, when he did adopt Antoninus Pius.

AFter that the Emperour Adrian was recouered of a certeine great surfet, it hapned afterwards as he sate at his dinner, he was taken wᵗ an incessant cough, whereof followed a bleeding at the nose, in suche abundance, and with such continuance, that both him selfe, and others thought, first to haue seene him dead, yer the bloud woulde haue ceassed to runne. Adrian perceiuing, the greater that his flure of bloud did increase, so muche the more his life did shorten: desiring like a good Prince, to prouide for the weale of his subiectes, comaunded all the Senatours, Consuls, and all other the notable officers of Rome to come before him, vnto whome he briefely saide certeine woordes, right worthie to be committed vnto memorie, as followeth.

His Oration to the assemblie.

Fathers conscript, you see with greate certeintie, howe soudeinly and vnawares death hath assailed mee, and by howe small occasion I lose my life. Let mee be an example vnto you, and all men, and

and holde it for moſt certeine, that that parte of life is moſt times in peril, where, of certeintie of life we had ſetled moſt affiance. Nature hath not graunted me to haue children of mine owne, but therefore I giue great thankes vnto the immortall Gods, becauſe in deliuering mee from children, they haue diſcharged mee of greate and many cares. There goeth muche difference betwixt the ingendering, or the electing of a ſonne: for the one proceedeth of neceſsitie, the other is elect at large, will, and libertie. The ſonnes that nature giueth vs, are many times lame, filthie, and alſo fooliſhe: but ſuch as wee adopt, wee elect them able, ſound and diſcrete: for that no man is ſo imprudent which at the time of election, chooſeth not the beſt. In time paſt, I elected Lucius, ſufficiently knowen vnto you: but the deſtinies were ſo contrary vnto him, that before he had power to commaunde in the ſtate of Rome, he was buried in his ſepulture: but now we haue elected Antoninus for your emperour, whoe wee promiſe you, ſhall proue milde, benigne, quiet, and merciſull: for that clemencie is as naturall vnto him, as it is vnto the Sunne to giue light by daye. He receiueth the Empire in a competent age, to the ende ye feare not, by his too muche youth, to committ ſome raſhe deede, either by too muche olde age, negligently to gouerne the common wealth. He hath beene bred and nouriſhed in our own countrie, and therefore will obſerue the cuſtomes thereof. Alſo his life hath been trained vnder our own lawes, a ſufficient occaſion to auoide all ſearche of vnneceſſarie lawes of ſtraunge countries, and this you haue to regarde, not as a matter of ſmall importance: becauſe there is not any thing that more doeth offende

the

the common wealth, then to infecte the ſame with ſtraunge and vnuſed cuſtomes. He knoweth what thing it is to go on warrefare, to gouerne armies, to ſuffer both paſsions and motions of people, to vſe clemencie with ſome, and to correct others: in ſuche wiſe, that in him is conteined greate ſufficiencie, for the gouernement of the common wealth, ſince in all thinges he hath experience. Ye knowe him, and he knoweth you, ye haue dealt with him, and he hath dealt with you: & I hold of him ſuch opinion, that he will neither deſpiſe you, either forget you: in ſuch manner, that his obedience ſhalbe vnto mee, as vnto a father, and ſhal deale with you in loue, like a brother. And I woulde that all you which be here preſent, as alſo all other perſons in Rome, that vpon ſuch condition I tranſferre the Empire, that after his dayes he leaue the ſame vnto Marcus Aurelius his ſonne in lawe, and my ſeruaunt: and from henceforth, I ſweare and proteſt, that theſe two elections ſhalbe acceptable vnto the Gods, and profitable vnto men. In credite, life, and ſcience, Marcus Aurelius doth exceede Antoninus: but that hitherto Antoninus hath had more experience: for which cauſe vnto him, the rather we haue commended the Empire, becauſe, for the generall gouernement of any eſtate or common wealth, one yeare of experience is more worth then ten yeres of ſcience. I haue beene weake, careleſſe and negligent, in many thinges of the common wealth, partely inforced therunto by the greatneſſe of mine enimies, but for the recompence thereof, I do leaue two ſuche Princes one after the other, to gouerne the Empire, which for their ſingularitie in ſcience and vertue, ſhall excell all that be paſt, and I

doubt in equalitie, not to be matched with any their succeſſours.

These wordes being saide by Adrian, he drewe a ring from his finger, and put the same vppon the fingar of Antoninus Pius, and after that houre he was holden, serued, and obeyed as Romaine Emperour: notwithstandinge that Adrian liued some time after. Perfect was the election of the Emperour Nerua, in the good Traiane, and no lesse of Traiane in the adoption of Adrian, and moste iust of Adrian in the election of Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, which fiue Emperours were such and so good, one after the other: which seemed a Prognostication, that the felicitie of Romaine Emperours, should in them take an ende.

CHAP. V.

¶Of the offices that Antoninus helde before he was Emperour.

" BEfore Antoninus Pius came vnto the height of ꝯ Em-
" pire, he did oft put forth his money to vsurie, but all
" the gaines of that trade, he spent in succouring the poore,
" and redeeming captiues. He was sent on a time by A-
" drian to visite the Ile of Sicyl: in which visitation he re-
" formed many people, chasticed many tyraunts, depriued
" many officers, remoued many enimities, repaired ru-
" nous buildinges, did melt manye counterfeit coynes: but
" moste of all in suche manner did gouerne the common
" wealth, that no man remained discontented.

He was iiij. yeares Prætor within Rome, he was Consul in Campania, with Catilinus Seuerus, he was Iudge thræ yeres together, in al which offices he was neuer noted, either rashe in commaundements, or rigorous in his chastisements.

Adrian

Adrian diuided all Italie into foure iurisdictions, placing in euery one a Consul for gouernement thereof, and established Antoninus supreme gouernour of them all: in such wise, that he helde such authoritie and credite, that in Rome all was gouerned by his counsell: and in Italie all did obey his commaundementes. Were his person farre distant, alwayes Adrian and the Senate had his counsell present: the cause whereof proceded of his cleare iudgement, in the foundation of that which he saide: and through the bountie of his vertue, he frankly did speake his opinion.

We saide not without iust cause, that by his vertue, he did freely saye his opinion: for speaking the very truth, he is not onely vniust, but verie wicked, that hath libertie in his speeche, and hath not vertue in his life. Exercising in Asia the office of Proconsul, he vttered so greate wisedome in his commaundementes, and so much without couetousnesse in his dealings, that he was intituled, the holy proconsul, which gouernement amongest strangers, by a straunger, was a case somewhat straunge, because detestation alwayes accompanieth such gouernement.

Comming from Asia vnto Rome, in Antioche he buried his eldest daughter: whoe had such fame in her life, that after her death she left behinde a slaunderous memorie. We haue saide howe the wife of Antoninus was named Faustine, which was mother vnto the faire Faustine wife vnto Marcus Aurelius: and moste truely, both mother and daughter were touched with infamie, by the meane of to muche libertie, and to little vertue,

It was neuer seene in the Romaine Empire, that two so vertuous Princes, had wiues so licentious: notwithstanding the one was sufficiētly aduised, the other corrected: but for that they were so gratious in their conuersation, and so perfect beautifull of their persons: it was very little which was saide vnto them, in respect of that which was dissembled.

Antoninus was so limitted in that which he saide, and so aduised in the counsels which he gaue, that he neuer repented that demaunded the same. Before Antonius came vnto the Empire, he was couetous, but afterwardes very liberall: and his wife reprehending, that he vsed no order in giuing or spending, he aunswered: Faustine, simple is thy iudgement, since thou vnderstandest not, that after we were aduaunced vnto the Empire, we lost all that euer we had, because all Princes of noble mindes be bounde to giue, but haue no licence to kéepe or horde.

The tribute coronall, that is to saye, the money that was giuen vnto the Emperours for their coronation: the one halfe therof he gaue vnto the cities of Italie, to relieue the charges of the common wealth. His wife he did both honour, and cause to be honoured: and it was in such maner, that he obtained and brought to passe with the Senate, that shée shoulde be intituled Augusta Faustina, and in her owne name to graue and stampe certeine money, the whiche is séene at these dayes. Antoninus was imbraced with so ardent affection of the Senate, that without his request, they erected the pictures and counterfeits of his father and mother, his graundfathers, and graundmothers, his brothers and sisters, notwithstanding they were all dead.

The Circene playes, which were vsed euery fifth yeare, the Senate did ordeine to celebrate euery yere on the daye of his natiuitie. And after that he therefore had greatly gratified the Senate: by greate request he obteyned the celebration of them, to be perfourmed on the day of Adrians death.

The Senate to satisfie Antoninus, consented that his wife Faustina, shoulde be intituled Augusta: and also in the coynes whiche they made, vnto her honour, there shoulde be ingrauen, Augusta Faustina: whiche excellencie, was neuer graunted to anye Woman

of

of Rome: for that in giuing her the title of Augusta, they gaue her authoritie to set her hande to the thinges of the common wealth.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Howe he helde all prouinces in peace, not by armes, but with letters.

Amongest al the Romaine Princes, there was none, that perfourmed so great constancie in his affaires, as Antoninus Pius: which proceeded, for that he was not rashe in his commaundements, either variable in his determinations, but that exactly he considered and examined, what he did commaunde: and after, for no importunitie would reuoke the same. Antoninus being resident in the prouince of Campania, sending vnto the Senate to request a certeine matter, which notwithstanding the difficultie thereof, was graunted: Gaius Rufus a Senatour, saide vnto him. Serene Prince, I beseeche thee to giue mee to vnderstande, by what reason it is brought to passe, that in all thy enterprises thou doest neuer repent: in all thy requestes thou art neuer denied: either in al thy commaundements thou arte neuer disobeyed. To whome Antoninus made aunswere: If I repent mee not of any my deedes, it is because I do them according to reason: and if my requests are not denied of the Senate, it is because I craue not but that which is iust: and if in my commaundements I am not disobeyed, it proceedeth that they are more profitable vnto the common welth then for mine owne person.

Most truely these were words right worthie of such a mã, and to ỹ memorie of Princes most chiefely to be commended. It was an auncient custome amongst ỹ Romaines, to haue the time limitted for their residence in their offices,

that is to say, the Dictatour, sixe monethes, the Consul one yere, the Pretor two yeres, the Censour three yeres, the maister of the horssemen halfe a yeare, and so of the rest.

Antoninus woulde not consent vnto this custome, but in euery respect did alter the same, in such wise, that with some that shoulde haue continued but two or thrée yeares, he helde them in office seuen or eight yeares: and others that shoulde haue continued thrée yeares; hee displaced them in thrée monethes: affirminge, that the good officer ought to be conserued all the dayes of his life, but the euill, not to be suffered one onely daye.

He sent Fuluius Tusculanus, as Pretor into ẏ prouince
" of Mauritania, whome win half a yere he depriued of his
" office: for ẏ he was bothe impatient & some what coue-
" tous: and complaining of the iniurie, saide and alledged,
" that in times past, he had béene friend vnto Antoninus,
" which nowe was forgotten. Whereunto Antoninus
" Pius did aunswer: thou hast no reason thus vniustly to
" blame mée, because the office was giuen thée by the Em-
" perour, and not by Antoninus: and since thou diddest of-
" fende, not as Fuluius, but as Pretor: euen so I dischar-
" ged thée of thine office, not as Antoninus thy old friende,
" but as an Emperour of the Romaine Empire. He was not inclined to beginne warres, either in his owne person to prosecute the same: for he helde opinion, that the Prince with more sounde counsell shoulde commend his warres vnto his Captaines, to the ende in his owne person to gouerne the common wealth, then to goe to the warres him selfe, and leaue his common wealth vnto others.

Talkinge on a time in his presence, of warres and battels, that Iulius Cæsar, Scipio, and Hanibal, had fought and ouercame in the worlde, Antoninus Pius aunswered: Let euery man holde opinion what he thin-

thinketh good, and praise what it pleaseth him: but for mine owne parte, I doe more glorie in conseruing peace many yeares: then with warres to conquere many battailes.

In the seconde yere of his Empire, the Britains rebelled, against whome he sent the Consul Lælius Vrbicus, whoe subdued that Islande, although afterwardes by mischaunce he lost his life.

In the thirde yeare of his Empire, the Mauritanes also rebelled, whiche are a people of Africa: againste whome he sent the Consul Murus Cespitius, whoe vsed so greate policie in those warres, that hee constrained them to craue peace. In those dayes the Germaines and the Datians had greate warres amongest them selues, vppon the diuision of certeine territories: but in the ende, after their owne destruction, amongest them selues, they came to suche concorde, that they bent their whole force, as cruell enimies against Rome, and the countries thereof: protesting and affirminge, their charges to bee muche more in paying so greate, and so continuall tribute, then might arrise by defence of their persons against the Romaine power.

Antoninus vnderstanding of this rebellion, hee woulde not presently sende forth an armie, but a Judge with greate power, to visite those countries, to mittigate and vnfolde all griefes, and to remoue all vniust tributes, and ioyntly therewith did write suche and so good wordes, that at the instant those Barbarians left their armour, and did yeld their countries vnto the obedience of Rome.

Of this example, all mightie Princes haue to take example, to the ende, that with furie they vndertake not to tame a furious people: because manye times, hartes be more tamed with sweete wordes then with cruell armes.

The Iewes that were in the prouince of Pentapolis, also he did represse and tame, which was don by the hands of the president that was in Assyria, whom he commaunded first to offer them peace before he made them warre. In Achaia and Aegypt also certeine people did rebell: vnderstanding the occasion to procéde of the Romaine Pretors, whiche were rigorous in their commaundements, and couetous in their dealings, gaue order, that his officers were chastised and the people pardoned.

The Pretors that were resident in the countries of the Alanes, sent to complaine at Rome, howe daily they were threatened to be slaine, onely for demaunding tribute: vnto whome Antoninus aunswered. We haue receiued your letters, and be grieued with your perils, and no lesse sorrowe your trauailes: if these people do paye their tribute which they doe owe: suffer their threateninge which they make: because it is nédeleſſe to thinke that any man which is a tributarie, shall liue contented. In any wise, aduenture not to giue them iniurious wordes, to committ briberie, or to do them wrong: because in suche cases, wée haue to heare their complaintes, and to correct your offences. The Gods haue you in keeping, and guide well your Fortune.

CHAP. II.

¶Howe he did visite the officers of his common wealth, and the reformation of his house.

When Antoninus sent any Pretor to gouerne any prouince, he was not satisfied that he were wise, prudent, and valiaunt: but also without any infection of pride, or couetousnesse: for he helde opinion, that he may euill gouerne a common wealthe, that is a sub-

subiect to pride or couetousnesse. Vnto Pretours, Cen-
sours, and Questours, before he gaue them any gouerne-
ment of any countrie, first, he caused them to giue an in-
uentorie, of their owne proper goods: to the end that when
their charge were finished, the increase of their wealth
might be considered: and ioyntly therewith he did both
say and warne them, that he sent them to minister iustice,
and not by fraude to rob countries. In all thinges that
Antoninus commaunded, prouided, and chastised, he was
very pitifull: such excepted, as did offend in the execution
of iustice: with whom he was both rigorous & extreme:
in such wise, that other offences, were they very great, he
did pardon them: but as concerning iustice, the smallest of-
fence was grieuously punished. On a time certaine officers
of his treasure, brought him a memoriall: wherein was
conteined the manner and fourme, yearely to increase his
rents, which being séene and read, in the backe thereof, he
did write these wordes: the order and fourme that you
haue to searche, ought not to be to the augmentation of
my rents: but for the aduancement of my common welth:
eyther to impose newe tributes, but to deuise with order,
to auoyde excessiue expences: for if Romaine Princes
vse no rule to moderate their charges, eyther we shall lose
our selues, or rob our common wealthes. Amongest all
the Princes past, onely Antoninus did neuer permit, the
rents of his estate, eyther more or lesse to be augmented:
but rather did pardon many common wealthes, of their
olde debts, and also relieued others of some newe im-
positions. Presents that were brought him, of siluer,
golde, silke, purple, iuels, or other riche things, he woulde
not receiue them, were it not of the kings that payde tri-
bute vnto the Empire: for he helde opinion, that the com-
mon wealthes, rather then him selfe, had néede thereof.
The things that he vsed most commonly to receiue, were
bookes to reade in, horses to runne, and fruite to féede on:
which he forgate not, gratefully to recompence. In af-
faires he vsed great expedition, that is to say, that if he

once did vndertake any businesse, he neuer withdrewe his
» hand, vntill it were finished. Euery yeare he caused his
» house to be visited, as concerning excessiue expences: if ex-
» action or briberie were committed by any of his household,
» against straungers: if they did serue, which receiued wa-
» ges: if amongest them, there were any that were notably
» vicious: finally, all that whiche the visitour for the reme-
» die hereof did set downe, presently was performed. For
the time of Domitian, the Emperours officers had a cu-
stome, to receiue many & chargeable fées of al men, that by
warrant of the Princes liberalitie receiued reliefe: which
the Emperour Antoninus, as a vile custome, did vtterly
take away: affirming, that a gratious rewarde, ought
gratis to be dispatched. The pryde, the presumption, the
hautinesse, and also the tediousnesse of the whole Empire,
he brought, placed, and restored vnto the plat of great hu-
militie: in suche wise, that as easily they dispatched af-
faires, with the Emperour Antoninus, as with a citizen
of Rome. A matter surely to be noted, to beholde the
Court of Rome, in the dayes of this good Prince, howe per-
fect the reformation thereof was established: for surely,
whether their affaires, were eyther with the Prince, or
with the Senate, neyther did they beginne their suit with
» feare, or were dispatched, with iust cause to murmur. The
» officers of his house, and also of the Senate, by whose han-
» des matters were dispatched, some he aduaunced, and to o-
» thers he gaue double fée: to no other ende, but to remoue
» them from aduenturing to take any bribe. Being (as he
was) a great friend vnto the common wealth, and not a
little delighted to be in the grace thereof, and to this ende,
with the good he vsed great liberalitie, and with the euill
great clemencie: in such wise, that of all men he was be-
loued, and also praysed: as well for that he pardoned the
one, as gaue vnto the other. All that euer he sayde or wi-
shed, to be vsed of good Princes, the same did he performe
after he was Emperour: and reformed all things, that he
thought were to be amended.

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In the third yeare of his Empire, Faustine his dearely beloued wife dyed, in whose death he did vtter so great sorrowe, that it exceeded the authoritie of his estate, and also the grauitie of his person. In the memorie of Faustine, he placed hir picture in all the temples, and perfourmed with the Senate, that she should be recounted amongest the Goddesses, which was, as to canonize hir: all whiche was truely agréed by the Senate, more at the request of Antoninus, then for the deseruings of Faustine.

CHAP. VIII.

Of certaine notable buildings erected by Antoninus.

THe buildings which he made were not many, but excéeding stately and sumptuous: for in them appeared and were represented the greatnes of his estate, and the magnanimitie that he had in spending. He built a temple in the reuerence of his Lorde Adrian: wherein he erected a picture of siluer, with a Coronet of golde, and a chaplet of Nacre: a worke most certainly, no lesse curious then costly. He reedified a certaine building, called Gregostasens: which serued to lodge all straunge ambassadours: bycause the Romaines did vse to giue ambassadours, an house to dwell in, and a stipend for their dyet. He did amplifie and nobilitate the sepulchre of his Lord Adrian: whereunto none durst approch, but on their knées. The greatest session house of al Rome, was burnt in the time of Domitian: which the good Antoninus, built from the foundation. He built the temple of Agrippa, and indued and dedicated the same, in the reuerence of the Goddesse Ceres. Ouer the riuer Rubicon, he built a sumptuous and a stately bridge, and also not a little necessarie: bycause afore time many were there daungered, and afterwardes that way muche victuall, and prouision was carried.

Not

Not farre distant from the port of Hostia, neare vnto the sea, he built a right strong tower, for the safetie and defence of the ships of Rome: which a foretime might not bring in any victuall or other prouision, but were distressed of pyrates. The hauen or port of Gaieta, whiche had bene long through great antiquitie forsaken, he freshly reedified, that is to say, built newe houses, erected a mightie tower, made a strong wall, placed inhabitants, and gaue them great priuileges: in such wise, that whereas afore time, it was a thing vtterly forgotten, it was from thence forth most estéemed. That whiche he did in Gaieta, he performed in a porte of Spaine named Taragon: whiche he reedified, & amplified, with great buildings and priuileges. A myle from the port of Hostia, he built a sumptuous and a curious bathe, and indued the same in suche manner, that in all Italie it was the onely bath, that was vnto all men frée without charges. A myle without Rome he built thrée temples, naming them Laurianos, for that many bay trées grewe there, to this ende: that the dames and matrones of Rome, walking according vnto their manner, should encounter with some Church to pray in.

CHAP. IX.

Of certaine lawes which the Emperour Antoninus Pius made.

IT was a law amongst the Romaines, that such as were put to death by iustice, might make no testament: but that in losing their life, they lost also their goods. Antoninus moued with pietie, did ordein, that none for any fault, what so euer, should ioyntly lose both life and goods: but if any were put to death, he might frankly make a testament of his owne proper goods. Where he had placed any good and sound Iudge in any common wealth: he did not onely permit him not to be remoued: but also with giftes and requestes he did sustéine him. This good Prince made a law, that

that none should presume to sue to the Prince or Senate, for the office of iustice: vppon paine to be banished Rome. There was in Rome a Iudge, named Gaius Maximus, who in Rome continued a iudge twentie yeares: of whom Antoninus wold oft say, that he had neuer seene, heard, or read of a man more cleare of life, eyther right in iustice. In the place of Gaius Maximus, there succeeded Tatius Succinus, a man surely of many hoare haires, and of muche learning: but the office of Pretour being so tedious, and he of yeares so auncient, dyed immediately vpon the burthen thereof. Antoninus being informed, that the good olde Tatius dyed with the burthen of his office, diuided the same betwixt Cornelius, and Repentinus: but after the Emperour being informed, howe the Senate had giuen the same vnto Repentinus, not for his deseruing, but at the suite of a Gentlewoman of the Courte: he commaunded him publikely to be banished, declaring by the voice of a cryar throughout all Rome, that he was banished for obteining the office of a Iudge, by the suit of a woman. This was the first officer of Rome, that in the dayes of Antoninus, suffered punishment, which correction gaue so greate feare throughout the Romaine Empire, that from thencefoorth the Emperour Antoninus was as muche feared of the euill, as beloued of the good. A mightie Senatour named Tranquillus, confessing to haue procured his fathers death, of extreme desire to inherite: he commaunded to be remoued into an Iland, onely to passe his life with the breade of sorrowe, and the water of teares. All the time of his Empire, he gaue wheate and oyle vnto the citizens of Rome. The people of Rome in those dayes, being giuen to drinke wine without measure: he commaunded that none shuld presume to sel wine, but in Apothecaries shops for the sicke or diseased. He established a lawe for him self and his successours, that openly three dayes in the weeke, they should shewe them selues in Rome: and if by any weightie cause, there happened some impediment, that on suche dayes their gates should stand wide open, without

porters,

poꝛters, that fréely the poꝛe might repaire to follow their suits. In deare yeres he did oꝛdeine through Italie, that no gardener should dare to sowe in his garden any séede, but wheate and barley: whereby the poꝛe of the common wealthe might be relieued of their penurie. He made an vniuersall lawe, throughout the Empire, that gouerners and rulers of the people, should not aduenture to spende the goods of the common wealth, in matters eyther vnpꝛofitable oꝛ superfluous: but to the defence of enimies, oꝛ repayꝛing of foꝛtifications, eyther else foꝛ pꝛouision of the common wealth in time of deare yeares. There was in Rome certaine stipendarie interpꝛeters of all languages, to manifest the meaning of straunge ambassadours: whose sée and office Antoninus commanded to be foꝛbidden, and taken away, affirming it to be verie conuenient vnto the greatnesse and maiestie of Rome, that al nations and kingdomes should learne to speake their speache: and that it were abasement foꝛ them, to learne any straunge toung.

" Also he did oꝛdeine, that al the old, impotent, & blind people
" in Rome, should be susteined at the charges of the common
" wealth: but such as were younger and moꝛe able, shoulde
" be constrained, eyther to boult meale at the bakers, oꝛ
" to blowe the bellowes at the smythes. By chaunce on a certaine day, he founde an olde seruitour, whiche he had knowne long in the warres, rubbing and clawing him selfe against the pillers of the Churche: ~~Adrian~~ demaunding why he did so rubbe him selfe, and weare out his clothes: the olde man made answere, I haue no garments to clothe my selfe, neyther any man giueth me to eate: yet if it may please thée, ~~Adrian~~, I haue founde meane to rub my selfe. ~~Adrian~~ toke great compassion of that whiche he did sée, but much moꝛe of that which he heard: and pꝛesently he commaunded goods to be giuen him, and slaues to serue him. And as enuie, is naturall vnto the poꝛe, as pꝛyde is common among the riche: The next day other two poꝛe men came befoꝛe Adrian, rubbing them selues amongst the pillers, in hope to receiue the like liberalitie:

whome

whom he willed to be called vnto him, commaunding the one to scratch the other, and by turne to ease each other of his itch. Vnto king Pharasmaco of the Parthians, Adrian gaue great giftes: that is to say, fiftie Eliphants armed with their towers, and three hundred men of Hiberin in the countrie of Spaine, which were of his guard.

Antony

CHAP. XI.

Of the prodigious and monstruous things that happened during the Empire of Antoninus.

MAny trauels and hard aduentures followed the Emperour Antoninus while he liued, and also in all his kingdomes, in the time of his reigne: bicause Fortune is so variable, that she neuer stayeth her wheele, or euer ceaseth to be turning thereof. In the second yeare of his reigne, hunger was so great, so sharpe, and so generall throughout all Italie, that thereof there dyed no lesse, then if it had bene of a fierce pestilence. There was in Asia, so cruell, and so generall an earthquake, that many houses and buildings were subuerted, many people slayne, and not a fewe cities dis-inhabited: for the repayring of which great hurtes, he sent not onely money from the common wealth of Rome, but also plentifully sent his treasure out of his owne coffers. In the moneth of Januarie, there was in Rome so furious a fire, that it burnt ten thousand houses, wherein there perished of men, women, and children, more then tenne thousande. In the same yeare was burnt the stately place of Carthage, the one halfe of Antioche, and in a manner the whole citie of Narbona. In the moneth of August, there was at Rome great floudes: and besides, losse of their corne, both reapt and vnreapt. The riuer Tyber did so swell and ouerflowe, that one dayes losse was not repayred in three yeares. On the fourth of the monethe of Maie, there appeared a starre ouer Rome, conteyning the quantitie of the wheele of a mill: which

" which threw out sparkes so thicke and so continuall, that " it seemed rather the fire of a forge, then the shining of a " starre. In the first yeare of the Empire of Antoninus, in " Rome was borne a childe with two heades, the one like a " man, the other like a dogge: but the straungenesse of the " matter did more exceede, in that, with one head he did cry " and barke, as a whelpe: and with the other did weepe as a " childe. In the citie of Capua, a woman was brought a bed " and deliuered of fiue sonnes. At that time was seene in A- " rabia, a great and a most huge serpent: which being seene " of many persons, vpon the height of a rocke, did eate halfe " his owne tayle: in which yeare, there was throughout all " Arabia, a maruellous greate pestilence. In the ninthe " yeare of the Empire of Antoninus, in the citie of Mesia, " barley was seene to growe in the heads of their trees: in " such wise, that no tree bare fruite that yeare, but eares of " of barley. In the same yeare, there happened in the king- " dome of Artenitos, in a citie named Triponia: foure wilde " and vnknowne Lions to lye downe in the market place: " which became so tame, that they made them packehorsse " to the mountaines for wood, and boyes became horssemen " vppon their backes. In the kingdome of Mauritania, a " childe was borne, which had the heade turned backwards, " which liued, and was bred vp, and also suche as would ey- " ther see or speake with him, most conueniently did place " them selues at his backe: which notwithstanding, coulde " both see, speake, and go, but with his hands might not feede " him selfe. There died in Rome a Senatour, named Ru- " fus, a man of great wealth and credite, whiche after his " death did many times come to the Senate: sitting in his " wonted place, and clad with garments, after his olde fa- " shion, but was neuer hearde speake one worde: and this " vision continued in the Senate, full two yeares.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the warres that happened in the reigne of Antoninus Pius, and other his actes.

IT chaunced vnto no Romaine prince, as it did vnto Antoninus: which alwayes remaining within the bounds of Italie, and commonly within Rome, was so beloued, feared, and serued of all straunge kings and kingdomes, as if personally he visited & had conquered thē. In the fourth yeare of his empire, king Pharasmaco came to Rome, but onely to sée Antoninus, and brought and presented vnto him, so muche and so maruellous thinges, that the eyes of men were not satisfied in beholding, eyther their hearts in wishing them. The king of Parthians, had taken awaye much landes from the king of Armenia: who sent to complaine vnto the Romaines, as vnto their friends, alies, and confederates: for whome the Emperour Antoninus did write his letters vnto the king of Parthians, to cease to do wrong, and also to make restitution vnto the Armenians: whose letters being receiued and read, was presently obeied and perfourmed. King Abogarus one of the mightiest and most notable kinges of the Orient, the Emperour Antoninus did force to come to Rome: bycause that owing a great summe of money vnto one of his vassals, he would not come to account. The good Emperour Traiane, had constrained the Parthians to receiue their seate and royall crowne, at the handes of the Romaines: which subiection, the Parthians both denyed and refused: but Antoninus not only by letters, but also by apparant threatnings, did force them to yealde and consent vnto the obedience of Rome. Rometalce king of the Pindaroes, was accused in ỹ Senate, of disloyaltie vnto the Romaines, in the warres they helde against the Rhodes: who cōming vnto Rome, to quite him selfe, the good Antoninus did not onely confirme him in his kingdome; but also did not permit, that

for any thing past, any motion should be made: affirming that his offence might not be so great, but that his submissiue apparance did reforme the same. The Olbiopolites a people in Asia, held warre with ỹ Taurocistes, alies of Rome: vnto whom Antoninus sente succour by sea, and with assistance of the Romanes, subdued the Olbiopolites, who not only paid all charges of the warres, but also gaue hostages to maintaine peace. Antoninus neuer raised warre, but that first he sought to conserue peace, and praised not a little that saying of Scipio: that is to say, Hee rather wished the life of one citizen of Rome, thē the death of a thousand enimies. When hée married his daughter Faustina vnto Marcus Aurelius, he made a sūptuous feast, and gaue great rewards vnto his men of warre. He held his sonne Marcus Aurelius in great reuerence, and would haue made him Consul, which hee refused, holding it for more happie, to turne bookes, then to appease nations.

After he had sent vnto Calcedonie for the great Philosopher Apollonius, and had giuen him an house to dwell in solitarilie, neare vnto the riuer Tiber: Antoninus sent for him, who refusing to come sent answeare, That schollers do vse to come to their maisters, and not maisters vnto their scholers: whereat Antoninus laughing said: A trim iest, that Apollonius hath passe so many seas, from Calcedonie vnto Rome, and now refuseth from his house to come to mine. Although Apollonius were learned in Philosophie, yet was hée in his life very couetous: whereat when certaine in presence of the Emperour did murmur, hée aunsweared: for very deare that Philosophers sell vs their Philosophie: alwayes their science is more worthe which they teach vs, then the goodes which wée giue them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

¶ Of the succession of the Empire, and the occasion of his death.

AS ỹ Emperour Antoninus in his youth was alwayes a frend vnto the vertuous, euen so in his age carefully hée did sæke the conuersation of the wise: and therewith had no lesse care of publique matters, then of his owne priuate affaires. Generally hée was so liked and loued of al nations, that in all temples, in all walles, gates, and buildings, these foure letters were placed, namely V.A.C.R. whiche is to saye *Vita Antonini Conseruatur Respublica*: which is to saye, On the life of Antoninus, the whole weale of the Romane Empire dependeth. Leauing a part many good lawes, which he made for the Common wealth, for which purpose, hee had alwayes attendant about him, men in the lawes singularly learned, who among ỹ chiefe was Vindemius Verus, Siluius Valente, Abolusius Metianus, Vlpius Marcellus, and Iabolinus: before whome hé set the lawes of all kingdomes, and of the most necessarie and approued, to take the choice to be established in his kingdomes. When he did institute any lawe, either ordeine any proclamation, he alwayes expressed therein so great reason, that his commaundements were neuer disobeyed, either his lawes reuoked. The cause of his death they say was after this maner: from Gallia Transalpina, that is to say, swæte Fraunce, they did present him certaine chæses, whereof he eating at his supper more then was conuenient, they ministred vnto him a perillous vomit, whereby they discharged his stomache not onely of meate superfluous, but also of bloud righte necessarie, which bredd in him a furious feuer, and finding himselfe

„ in great weakneſſe, without diſpoſition to ſléepe, either ap-
„ petite to eate: he commaunded al the Senatours and chief
„ gouernours, to be called vnto his preſence: and before thē
„ all did commende the common wealth vnto Marcus Aure-
„ lius his ſonne, and Fauſtine his daughter. And making his
„ teſtament in verie good order, wherin he gaue vnto his ſer-
„ uants great gifts, which being finiſhed and perfourmed, he
„ gaue vnto his daughter Fauſtine, the inheritaunce of all
„ his lands which he poſſeſſed before he came vnto the Em-
„ pire. His feauer increaſing, and his ſtrength and life wa-
„ ſting, the fourth day of his ſickneſſe about noone, beholding
„ and viewing all the circumſtants, and ſhutting his eyes
„ as if he would ſléepe, gaue vp the ghoſt: who was no leſſe
„ bewailed at his death, then he was beloued in time of life:
„ and preſently by conformitie of the whole Senate, was in-
„ tituled Holie: and all the people at the newes of his death,
„ a vie in euery ſtreate did grite, ſkrich, and cry, aduaunc ing
„ and magnifying his bountie, clemencie, benignitie, libera-
„ litie, iuſtice, patience, prudence, and prouidence. Al the ho-
„ nours were done vnto him, and all the famous titles were
„ giuen him, that vpon any noble Prince had bene imployed.
„ And deſerued that in the temple of Iupiter, a prieſt of his
„ owne name ſhould be inſtitute. Alſo they built him a tem-
„ ple, and dedicated vnto his honour the Circene playes, and
„ a fraternitie: where they were all called Antonines.
„ This Prince onely amongeſt all Princes, liued and dyed
„ without ſheading of bloude: and for likelineſſe, compared
„ vnto Numa Pompilius, not onely in good gouernement
„ of the common wealth, but alſo for ſinceritie of life.

The

The life of the Emperour Commodus, the ſonne of good Marcus Aurelius: compiled by Syr Anthonie of Gueuara, byſhop of Mondonnedo, preacher, Chronicler, and Coũſeler vnto the Emperour Charles the fift.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the byrth of the Emperour Commodus,

THe Emperour Commodus had to his grandfather Annius Verus, and his father was the good Emperour Marcus Aurelius: and his mother was the right faire and renouned Fauſtine: on whoſe ſide, he was nephewe vnto the Emperour Antoninus Pius, a man of a refourmed life, and very beneficiall vnto the common wealth of Rome. He was borne in a certaine place named Lodie, on the eight day of September: at the time that his father, and Druſius his vncle, were Conſuls: the one gouerning matters of warre in Datia, and the other in refourmation of cauſes in the common wealth. The Empreſſe Fauſtine being great with childe, and neare vnto the time of her childe byrth, dreamed that ſhe was delinered of certaine ſerpents, but eſpecially of one, more fierce then the reſt: of which dreame, when his father Marcus Aurelius was infourmed, they ſay, that he ſayde: I feare me Fauſtine, that the ſonne of this birth, ſhall proue ſo fierce a Serpent, that ſhall be of power to commit a murther of our fame, and to poyſon the whole common wealth of Rome. The Aſtronomers and Nekromantiques, which in thoſe dayes were

resident in Rome, they sayde and prognosticated many things of the byrth of the Emperour Commodus: and as it appeared afterwardes they sayde very little, in respect of that which followed: bycause this miserable and vnfortunate Prince, in his manners, did rather resemble the infernall furies, then reasonable creatures. From his infancie his father Marcus Aurelius, carefully did trauell, in the learning and instruction of his sonne Commodus: for whiche purpose, he made inquisition throughout the whole Empire, for men learned in science, and of life and manners reformed. His first scholemaisters were, Onesicrates to teach him Grēke, Capilus to instruct him in the Latine, Teyus to instruct him in the Art of Oratorie, Pulion to informe him in Musike, Calphurnius to giue him order for behauiour on horsbacke, and Marcius to giue him rules for good manners: for that his father hauing no more sonnes, did not a little trauell, to frame in him suche perfection, as was due vnto a most noble and perfect Prince. But alas for pitie, that so many and so excellent men, neyther could persuade him to followe or imbrace vertue, eyther seperate him from his detestable vices. Right happie may we call those fathers, whose hap is to haue children inclined to vertue: for if they naturally be euill inclined, neyther doth it profite, that whiche their maisters teach them, eyther wherefore their parents do correct them. After Faustine was conceiued with Commodus, she neuer ceassed to say, howe painefull he was in breeding, and howe daungerous in his birth: and his nourses for his byting when he did sucke, alwayes complained: in suche wise, that from the time of his first conception he was painefull, and tedious in conuersation. After Commodus was weined, and began to fede him self and learne to talke: presently it appeared, that he was harde of condition, intollerable to serue, ingrateful of benefites, a glutton in feeding, malicious in countenaunce, cruell in reuengement, impatient in iniuries, proude in commaundements, and aboue all, filthy, double, and vncertaine in his talke,

talke. At the sixte yeare of his age, it was maruellous to
see howe in so tender yeares, he was giuen to all manner
of vice: that none whatsoeuer in times past, had vsed such
industrie to proue eyther valiant or learned, as the vn-
fortunate Commodus did trauell to be vicious. He was
sharpe and of a delicate wit, and of excellent memorie: he
was also, quareiling, valiaunt, and doughtie: most appa-
rant in him from his infancie: for he was neuer seene to
feare eyther water, or fire, sworde, or wilde beastes. Na-
ture also had indued him with naturall abilities, whiche
valiauntnesse if he had imployed in warres, eyther his me-
morie vnto learning, or his wit vnto vertues, he might
haue proued an other Alexander in prowesse: or Plato
in science, eyther Traiane in iustice: but by euill conuer-
sation, he rightly resembled Brute the traytour, Nero the
cruell, and Catiline the tyrant.

CHAP. II.

Of the honourable titles, giuen vnto the Emperour Commodus, in time of his youth.

NOtwithstanding that Commodus was as yet but young, he was ouerthwart, quarellous, hatefull, and generally of the people not well liked. At the age of four-tene yeares, the Senate gaue him the title of Cæsar: not for the merite of the sonne, but to yealde to the vertue of the father. The Emperour Marcus Aurelius, seeing his sonne increase in age, and decrease in vertue, aduised to place him in a college of priestes, with whom many sonnes of noble men were bred: but in the end, he as little profi-ted, by the companie of priestes, as by the doctrine of his scholemaisters: for he helde alwayes, enimitie with other mens counsell, and great friendship with his owne will.

When his father came from the Parthike warres, in to-ken of gratefulnesse, the Senate gaue vnto Commodus the title of Prince: which name vnto that day, was neuer giuen vnto the sonne of any Emperour.

The Romaine Princes held a custome, yearely to giue vnto the people for their sustentation, wheate, wine, and oyle, and other thinges, on which day alwayes in Rome they made great feastes. Commodus being then of fiftene yeares of age, and also placed in the temple of Traiane, gaue and diuided vnto the people, their accustomed shares of wheate, oyle, and wine: on that day Commodus was so feasted of all the Senate, as his father was the day he entered triumphing into Rome. When the Emperour Marcus Aurelius came from the warres of the Argonautes, he was receiued into Rome with great triumphe: and the more to honour and to do him pleasure, the Senate did ordeine, that his sonne Commodus, should with him be placed, in the chariot triumphant: & further & beside this, they did inuest him with the garment imperiall: that is to say, they did abilitate and elect him, that after the death of his father, his sonne Commodus should be Emperour. Marcus Aurelius went into Aegypt, and also into Assyria, to visite those countries, and lead with him his sonne Commodus. The Senate vnderstanding the noble workes and dædes which he performed in al those countries and prouinces, sent him a dispensatiõ of the law Annuaria, which did prohibite, that no young man might be admitted to be Consul: to the end that frely he might establish his sonne Commodus, Romaine Consul. Commodus was but xvij. yeares of age, when he sawe him selfe clad with the imperiall garment, when he diuided shares of reliefe vnto the common people, when he was elected a Romaine Consul, and was placed with his father in the chariot triumphant: which foure titles and honours, were not giuen to honour the sonne, but to please the father. His proportiõ was after
» this manner: his body long and slender, his face faire and
» well bearded, his eyes great and blacke, his handes white
» and long fingred, his haire yellow & thicke: finally, he was
» so faire and so gratious, that in his person there was no
» blemish, either in his life any thing to be praysed.
» It was monstrous and also lamentable to see, howe this

this Prince was naturally endued with so high a witt, and of such perfect singularitie of proportion, and further, being named Commodus, howe to all purposes, he was incommodious, that according to the iudgement of al mẽ, he was not onely vnworthie of so great and singular graces, but possessed his life with great indignitie.

Commodus had his lockes so perfect yelow, that when they were moued in the sunne with the ayre, they seemed not hayres, but thredes of golde: and many helde opinion, considering the incomparable beautie & fineneſſe of his person, and the liuely freſheneſſe of his face, that he had not bene ingendred by mankinde, but that the Gods had made him with their owne handes. At all times when he did ride through Rome, a vie both men & womẽ left their buſineſſe, placing them selues at windowes, vppon houſes, and all stretes, to beholde him, as though they had neuer sene him: but as much as they praised him for his beautie: so muche did they diſpraiſe and abhorre him for his wicked life. Commodus was farre out of fauour with his father Marcus Aurelius, and to muche cheriſhed of his mother Fauſtine: wherein bothe the one and the other had great reaſon: for doubtleſſe, he gathered to ſmall profite of his fathers counſell, and folowed to much the libertie of his mother. Commodus had another brother named Veriſsimus, vnto whome, if he had not dyed young, the father had left the Empire: but so the deſtinies did ordeine, that he died which deſerued to liue, and that he liued which deſerued to dye. When in the preſence of Marcus Aurelius, talke was moued of Princes that had bene honourable and happye: ſome praiſing Alexander, that ouercame Darius: others, Scipio that ſubdued Haniball: others, Iulius Cæſar that conquered Põpeius: others, Auguſtus that defeated Marcus Antonius: Marcus Aurelius made this aunſwer: I holde the Emperour Nerua more happie then all the reſt, and for no other cauſe, but for that he adopted Traiane for his ſonne, in ſuch wiſe, that he elected whome he liked, and

not as I moſte ſorrowful, that muſt take ſuch as they haue giuen mee.

CHAP. III.

¶Howe Commodus did inherite the Empire of his father Marcus Aurelius, and of a certeine ſpeech which he vſed vnto the Senate.

IN the xvi. yere of the reigne of Marcus Aurelius, and in the 63. yere of his age, warre was raiſed in Panonia, which at theſe dayes is otherwiſe named Hungarie: in which warres the good Emperour woulde goe in his owne perſon, leading alſo with him his ſonne Commodus, according vnto his accuſtomed manner, that by the taſte of trauels in the warres, he ſhould bende and yelde him ſelfe to conſerue peace. The Emperour in the greateſt heate and furie of thoſe martiall affaires, was ſoudeinly ſtriken with a deadly ſickneſſe, and in fewe dayes depriued of his life: Commodus being then in ſo tender yeares, that he neither felt what he loſt, either the daunger wherin he ſtode. At the death of Marcus Aurelius, his ſonne Commodus was elected Prince, and confirmed Cæſar, whereof proceeded (but chiefely for affection they bare vnto his father) that preſently he was obeyed of all the armies, as true Emperour: notwithſtanding they all ſuſpected, he ſhould be the loſſe of their common wealth, and procure to his perſon ſome euil concluſion. Before the emperour Aurelius died, he left his ſonne Commodus commended vnto certeine tutours, as well fortunately to finiſhe thoſe warres begonne, as alſo to aſſiſt and counſell him in the gouernement of the common wealth, becauſe ỹ father comprehending the ſonne, did feare, that leauing ỹ enimies, he would abandon him ſelfe vnto vices: and although the common wealth were forgotten, would dedicate him ſelfe vnto the pleaſures of his perſon.

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The exequies for the good Prince Marcus Aurelius being celebrated, and sumptuous sacrifices also offered for him vnto the Gods, Commodus was aduised by his counsell, to vse some speache vnto all his Senatours, and captaines attendant in those warres: who being aduaunced vppon an high skaffolde, began after this manner to make his Oration.

The Oration of Commodus made to the Senate.

The vniuersall calamitie, and the particular sorrowe, which for the death of my father, this sorrowfull day doth represent, is no lesse common vnto you then to mee: for if I haue lost a pittifull father, you haue lost a righteous and a iust Prince. My losse is not small, that haue lost such a father, but much more haue you lost, that haue lost such a Prince: because the hurte of one is tollerable, but that which redoundeth to the offence of many, for euer is to be lamented. Experience teacheth vs, that of an hundred fathers, there be not twaine, that are euill vnto their children: and by the contrarie, of an hundreth princes, ye shall hardly finde twaine, that exquisitely shal proue good for their subiectes. If this be true, as it is moste true, that I haue saide: it is iust, and verie iust, that if sonnes lament the death of their parentes, with teares of their eyes: that subiectes bewaile the death of their good Princes, with drops from their heartes.

Howe humble my father hath beene vnto the Gods, how seuere with ỹ wicked, howe affable with good men, how patient in iniuries, how grateful for seruice,

ſeruice, howe bountifull in his houſe, and howe zealous for the common wealth : although you haue ſeene, you haue not throughly comprehended : for that good Princes be not exactly knowen, vntil they be loſt . My father was ſo fortunate and venturous in the warres , ſo ſingular in ſcience , ſo ſincere and cleane of life , and ſo perfecte a louer of the common wealth, that the dead had enuie at the liuing, not of the life which they poſſeſſed, but of the Prince which they inioyed. It may not be denied , but that the Romaine Empire is in debt and beholding vnto many Princes paſt : but I ſaye and affirme, that Rome is more in debt vnto my father, aboue all other : for others made the common wealth riche , but my father made it vertuous: others repaired walles, but he reformed manners : and that which is more, others brought to paſſe that Rome was feared of all ſtrange nations: but my father framed , that Rome of all in generall was both ſerued and beloued. You all well vnderſtande, what difference there goeth betwixt voluntarie, and forceable ſeruice : for as my father did vſe to ſaye, it is more tollerable to be commaunded of ſuche as loue vs , then to be ſerued of ſuch as abhorre vs. My father hath now finiſhed his iourney, and certeinly , moſte perfectly hath runne out his race : herein ye may conceiue his ineſtimable loue towardes you, in that he commended mee his onely ſonne into your handes : and if I followe and perfourme his will, he gaue mee not the Empire to commaund you, but to the ende I ſhould ſerue you , for he expreſſely gaue in charge, that my Empire ſhould tende more to your vtilitie, then to mine owne profite, humbly beſeeching the immortal Gods, to make

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mee ſuch, as my father at his death commaunded, & as you Romaines do wiſhe and deſire: becauſe there is no man in this worlde ſo euil, that deſireth not to be gouerned by a Prince that is good. You with me, and I with you, in the manner of our gouernement after his death, he did verie well expreſſe in the time of his life, directing me by commaundement to call you fellowes, and forbidding you to call me Lord: for his deſire was, that you ſhould fauour, and counſell me as a ſonne: and that I ſhould deale with you as with brethren, and truſt & beleeue you as fathers. The loue which the gods do beare vs, the ſame my father alwayes vſed with you: that is to ſay, he did ſo tenderly loue you all, as if ye all had beene but one man: whereof it foloweth that you are not ſo much in his debt, for that which he did for you, as for ỹ hee woulde haue done, and coulde not. I remember me, that many times being a childe, my father delighted that ye ſhould take, imbrace, kiſſe, and cheriſh me: to the end that imbracing of me in your armes, ye ſhuld place me in your hartes: and alſo, that I finding your armes open, ſhoulde not vniuſtely cloſe my bowels from you. My Empire is not as the Empire of others, ỹ is, I neither bought it with money, either obteined it by voices, or wonne it by armes, or toke it by guile: no doubtles, it is not ſo: for as others obteine by aduẽture, naturally I inherite. You haue great reaſon in minde to be ſatiſfied, and in harte contented, ſince ye haue a prince not deliuered by the hands of ſtrangers, but borne in your owne houſes. I confeſſe that to proue good, it auaileth muche to deſire and alſo procure to be good: but ioyntly herewith I ſaye, that to be a prince, it neceſſarily requireth to haue the

fauour

fauour of his kingdome: for otherwiſe, if ſtraungers do repugne, and ſubiects do not ſuccour, it may be in his owne handes to be a good man, but not in his power to be a good Prince.

My father was olde, and I am yong, wherof it foloweth, ỳ more glorie redoundeth vnto you, by yealding obedience vnto me, then vnto my father: bicauſe obedience done vnto him, proceeded of the merit of his authoritie: but that which yee ſhall yealde vnto mee, proceedeth of your owne pure vertue. All the rewardes, honours, and offices, that my father gaue in time of his life from henceforth I confirme them vnto ſuch as hold them: for that being (as he was) both holy and vertuous, the Gods aproouiug all his actes, it were not iuſt, they ſhould be diſalowed of men. Neither in the dignities of the Senate, the captainſhippes of the armies, the offices of my houſe, there is nothing to be ſayd, much leſſe to be altered: only one thing remaineth betwixt my father and mee, which is, that I confirme his good works, & change my vnreformed maners. Let vs ioyntly put on noble minds, to giue good end vnto the warres whiche my father hath ſo happily begunne, which being finiſhed, wee will all goe to our eaſe and ſolace, and inioy the pleaſures of Rome: whiche warres, if wee ſhould leaue vndone, although the hurte ſhould redound to mee, the faulte ſhould proceede and be imputed vnto you. I will not ſaye more vnto you, my friendes & companions, but that I requeſt and deſire you, alwayes to commend vnto your memorie, the greate loue that my father hath borne you, and the good dealing he alwayes vſed with you: that from his antiquitie, my tender yeres, and your greate vertue, ye

may

maye frame a Prince, good for your ſelues, and profitable for the common wealth.

Finally, I ſaye that if ye haue my father in remẽbraunce, ye will neuer forget or diſobey mee his ſonne: for comparing his vertue with my libertie: doubtleſſe and without compariſon, ye ſhal be much more perſuaded by his nobleneſſe, then altered by my youthfulneſſe.

This talke being finiſhed, much money was throwen out amongeſt the armyes becauſe, on ſuch dayes, it was amongeſt the Romaines muche vſed. The Romaine Princes did not muche varie from reaſon, to giue and promiſe muche money in the beginninge of their Empires: for as muche as the malice of man is greedie and couetous: they are more perſuaded withe a little money which is giuen, then with many wordes that are ſpoken vnto them.

CHAP. IIII.

¶Of a certeine famous and notable ſpeeche, vſed by one of his tutours: for that he would leaue the warre of Panonia vnfiniſhed.

All the officers of the Senate, and all the captaines of the armie did marueilouſly mitigate their ſorowe, for the death of their moſte louing Lorde Marcus Aurelius, when they hearde his ſonne Commodus talke with ſo greate ſingularitie: not onely for that he confirmed, whatſoeuer his father had done, but alſo becauſe he promiſed by imitation moſt naturally to reſemble him.

But what and howe great difference was betwixt the wordes of this Prince at that inſtant, & the workes which after he perfourmed in his life, was muche & too muche: for nothing was more aparant, then that al his good words

and

and woorkes, vppon that day did finishe and take an ende, because from that day, he did not onely speake euil, and do euill: but that which is woorst of all, it was neuer séene, that euer he had any motion or desire to do good. Many be wicked, and desire to amende: but this person so vnhappie and solde to sinne, was not to day so euil: that he desired and procured not to morrowe to be woorse. Certeine dayes after he had vsed this talke vnto the army, he permitted to be gouerned by the aduise of his tutours: but euen shortly after he both forgate the commaũdement of his father, and his promise made vnto his men of warre: for that he lost not onely the feare of his tutors, but also the loue and shame vnto his friendes. Commodus when he did inherite the Empire, was weake, delicate, and of tender yeares: but notwithstanding did vse such licence and libertie of life, that decayed his person, and damnified his inclination and manners. His tutors and gouernours finding the offence that insued therof, aduised to remoue the mischiefe by information and counsel in secrete: but so peruerse was his condition, that for their gentle admonition, he did presently abhorre them. Nowe when Commodus had publiquely lost his feare vnto tutors, his obedience vnto gouernours, and reuerence vnto his friendes, he woulde neither beholde the one, or speake with the other: but that all his communication, and conuersation was with persons light, young and vicious, vnto whome he committed all his secretes: who began to persuade him to leaue the warres, to go to Rome, renuing his memorie with the opulencie of Italie, and the beautie of Rome: and ioyntly did murmur at the land of Panonia, saying, it was barren, drye, colde, poore, and contagious: and that to drinke a pitcher of water, they were first constrained to breake the Ice.

With these and suche like woordes, Commodus was easily persuaded to leaue the warres of Panonia, and take his waye into Italie: and to bring the same to effect, calling his tutours and gouernours into his presence, fained

fained to haue greate suspicion, that while he remained in ỹ warrs, some others should cõspire & rebel in Rome: in respect whereof to avoyde ỹ worse, he was determined first to assure him selfe of his owne countries, before hée conquered straung kingdoms. So greate sorrowe entred the harts of the gouerners and capteines, that were present at that assemblye, that heauily castinge their countenaunces on the grounde, they were not able to aunswere one word. A Senatour named Põpeyanus being present at that counsell, who had married Lucilla, daughter vnto Marcus Aurelius, and elder sister vnto Commodus: besids his aliance in marriage, he was a man both rich, wise, valiaunte, and aunciente: and therewithall had greate boldnesse in that which he did, and no lesse credit in that which he saide. This Consul Pompeyanus, beholding all the assembly in great silence, thought good to take in hand, to aunswere the Emperour Commodus after this manner.

The Oration of Pompeyanus to Commodus.

Oh my sonne, and my Lord, for thee to haue desire to see Rome, & to go into Italie, is no meruel: for the same which thou desirest, all we haue longe wished, but folowing and imbracing reason, we endure not to be ouercome or carried away with sensualitie. I call thee sonne, because I haue bred and nourished thee from thy youth: and I call thee Lord, because thou art Lorde of my mother Rome: by the one I am bounde as a faithfull vassall to followe and obeye thee, and by the other thou art bound as vnto a good father to beleeue me: and may it please the immortall gods, that thou haue as ready an harte to be-

leeue my counsels, as I haue, redilie to obeye thy commaundements.

Many yeares I did folowe and serue thy father, and also am fully persuaded, that my seruice was gratefull vnto his harte, and did not onely tenderly loue me, but also frankely gaue and recompenced me: for which reason, vnto him and his house I will neuer become ingratefull: and am determined, one for one to counsell thee, in that which thou oughtest to doe, and afterwardes employ my life where in thou shalt cõmaund me. In that which I shal now say, if I haue not that reuerence, that from a vassall is due vnto the Lorde, at the leaste I shall haue that loue that a father doth owe vnto his sonne: and if nowe thou shalt be displeased with my words, and shalt take them to other ende then they be spoken, the time shall come, wherein thou shalt repente thee, for not beleeuing the old Pompeyanus, and that thou hast followed thine owne will and iudgment. But comming to the purpose, thou seest (moste souereigne prince) that all which be present, neither do beholde or answer thee, which may not proceede, but that either they knowe not to speake, or dare not answere, or els they thinke thou wilte not beleeue them: any of which, is too muche hurtefull and daungerous: becaus it is a faulte in a prince, to demaunde counsell of him that knoweth not to giue it: but it is muche woorse when they dare not speake that whiche is meete to be saide: but that whiche is woorste of all, is, when a prince knoweth not to take the benefite of good counsell.

If thou hadst in remembraunce, what thy father commaunded, it were superfluous at this present to aduaunce

aduaunce my ſelfe to giue thee counſell: and I dread, that as thou haſte made no accompt of his commaundement, in muche leſſe eſtimation thou wilt holde my requeſt: but in the ende I will ſay my opinion, and after wardes, make choyce of what ſhall, or may pleaſe thee.

My ſonne, call to remembrance whoſe ſonne thou wert, that is to ſay, of my Lorde Marcus Aurelius: for if thou doeſt conſider that thou hadſt to father ſo good a father: thou art muche bounde, being his ſonne, to proue a very good ſonne. Thou dideſt inherite of thy father his houſe, his goodes, his eſtate, and his memorie: all which doubtleſſe is verie little, if thou didſt not inherite his nobleneſſe: becauſe, for thy onely vertue thou art to be honoured & obeyed: as touching the reſt, as thou didſt inherite in one day thou maiſt loſe in one houre. The glorie which thou receiueſt, to haue ſo good a father, ſo neare and in companie with the Gods, the ſame ſhoulde hee haue there, to haue ſo good a ſonne here amongſt men: for other wiſe, as muche pleaſure as thou takeſt of his glorie, ſo much griefe ſhall he receiue of thy infamie.

Thou wilte (my ſonne) leaue this warre whiche thy father hath begonne, and wilt go to enioy the delights of Rome: I ſweare by the immortall Gods, I may not immagine ỹ vnworthineſſe of him that put the ſame into thy heade: becauſe ſuche and ſo greate an enterpriſe as this, ought not to be lefte vnfiniſhed, either if it were not begonne, vnperfourmed.

Thou mayeſt not denie, but that thy father was wiſe, aduiſed, patient, & valiante, which being ſo

in my iudgmeute it ſhoulde be right iuſte, that thou ſhouldeſt aduenture thy goods, where in he aduentured and alſo loſt his life. The affaires of Italie are in peace, in Rome ther is no mutinous perſon, in Aſia, & Africa, there is no common wealth out of quiet: the cauſe therof procedeth, of ẏ great affectiõ which they did beare vnto thy father: and of the greate power, ẏ here they vnderſtand his ſonne doth poſſeſſe, which if thou forſake, & loſe therewithall ſo great reputation: thou ſhalt leaue the Barbarians in peace, and make warre againſt thy ſelf. If thou (my ſonne) wilt obteine reſt and a good life, ſuſteine and conſerue that which thy father did winne and gette in time of his life: and thou ſhalte finde, that he conquered all, wonne all, recouered all, and made all plaine: and it is not vniuſtly ſaide, that he had all: for if he conquered walles with armour, he wonne hartes with good woorkes and noble deedes. My ſonne, what wilte thou ſeeke out of Panonia, ẏ thou mayeſt not find in Panonia: if thou deſire to ſee Rome, I giue thee vnderſtanding, that true Rome is where the Emperour of Rome is reſident: becauſe Rome is not holden for Rome, for the ſtately walles where with it is compaſſed, but for the heroicall men wher with it is gouerned.

If thou wilt haue riches, behold here is ẏ treaſure and the collectors thereof. If thou wilt haue men of counſell, here is the whole ſacred Senate. If thou wilte haue men of noble mindes, there are none in the worlde, as thoſe of thine armie.

If thou wilte haue luſtie younge men of thine age, here are the ſonnes of all the noble Romaines.

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If thou wilt fiſhe, behold here the great riuer Danubie, if thou wilt hunte and chace the wilde beaſte, here are ſharpe mountaines, if thou wilte haue faire women, behold here women both of Rome and Germanie moſte beautifull. If this be true, as it is moſt true, wherefore my ſonne wilt thou departe from Rome, to go and ſeeke Rome? If vpon the ſoudaine thou leaue this warre, thou ſhalt ſtaine thy fame with a greate blemiſh, and alſo put thy common wealth in great daunger: becauſe the barbarous ſhal thinke, that thy power is not ſufficiẽt to ouercome them, and alſo that thou dareſt not attempt to aſſaile them. Thy father lefte thee with greate power, and greate reputation in the Empire: and thou (my ſonne) ſhouldeſt rather bend and fixe thine eyes to conſerue thy reputation, then thy potencie: becauſe thy power only profiteth againſt thine enimies: but thy reputation profiteth to conquer enimies, & to conſerue friends. And thou oughteſt not to conceiue or think that ỹ power of the Romaine princes is ſo great, that it lieth in their handes at their owne likinge to make warre or peace with the barbarous nations: bycauſe there is nothing wherin fortune is leſſe correſpondent then Martial affaires. The good princes ought to do muche, trauell muche, and alſo aduenture muche, to avoyde warre and to obteine peace: but after they are determined to attempt and proſecute the ſame, they ought to reſpecte nothing more then the finiſhing thereof: becauſe many euiles are cutte off, by a good warre, which may not be finiſhed or brought to paſſe with a ſuſpicious or a doubtfull peace. It is greate folly for any man to endaunger him ſelfe, onely vppon the hope of a remedie: but much more is it, when a man

hath allredie thruſte him ſelfe into daunger, not to ſeeke to eſcape the perill thereof.

CHAP. V.

How Commodus left the warres of Panonia to go to Rome.

After that Pompeyanus had ended his Oration, Commodus did ſhew him ſelfe offended, for the opening thereof in ſo common aſſembly, and pleaſed for the integritie of his woordes, giuing for an anſwere, that for the preſent he woulde deferre his departing: vntill ripe counſell, ſhould determine ſome other matter. Not withſtanding his ſmall age, he was of ſuche diſſimulation in matters he woulde bringe to paſſe, and ſo double in his words which he did ſpeake, that the aunſwere which he made, was not to the intente to ſtay his departing, but to confirme them in negligence and want of prouidence. It was publiſhed in the whole armie, what Pompeyanus had ſayd vnto Commodus, and that the departing into Italie was deferred vntill the warres were finiſhed: of which newes ſome were pleaſed, and ſome diſpleaſed: becauſe the auncient and vertuous wiſhed all thinges to be done to the honour of the common wealth: but the younger perſons and ſuche as were vitious, had deſire to go to the vices of Rome. Some remaining quiet, and others negligent, Commodus determined to procéede with his purpoſe: and wrote certeine letters vnto Rome, wherin he commaunded, they ſhoulde order his houſe and prepare for his comminge: and he did alſo write, that they ſhoulde relieue him with ſome monye, for that with the warres he was much conſumed. His letters being diſpatched vnto Rome, Commodus commaunded all the valiant capteins to come vnto his preſence, with whome he did communicate the

manner

manner and fashion which he woulde vse with those barbarous people, to frame them to yeald to some honest truce: & if a better cõclusion might not be obteined, to finish the same with a peace dearly bought. After that messengers had passed betwixt Commodus and the Barbarians diuersly to and fro: in the ende it was resolued, that hee rendered many countries, that had bene taken from the enimies, and also gaue thẽ a great summe of money: and they promised to continue friendes, but not vassals vnto the Romaines. This conclusion being knowne and published, was not a little, grieuous vnto all noble minds of the armie: because most truely the capitulation thereof was too too infamous, that in respect of the state of those warrs it was not onely not to be done, either as much as to be talked of. Of these infamous conclusions, and ỹ paimente of so greate summes of money, he gaue no parte therof vnto ỹ Senate or gouernours to vnderstande, but vnto such men of warre as he vnderstoode had desire to be gone, and such as he thought durst not repugne. The fame beinge published that Commodus would depart towards Rome, the whole armie was so altered, that none would remaine in the frontiers, but that euery man without order, prepared with greate hast to returne into Italie: in such wise that Commodus, not onely ceased to continue hostilitie against ỹ Barbarians, but also left no garrisons, to guard the Romaine people. The Emperour Commodus parted from Panonia to go to Rome, ỹ tenth day of ỹ moneth of Februarie: and so greate was his desire to come to Rome, that in many cities which were in his way, where they came forth to receiue him, he would not onely stay to heare what they would say, either receiue ỹ which they would present: but also alone and disguised, in poste woulde passe theire streets.

Incredible was the pleasure which they receiued in Rome, when Commodus did write of his partinge from Panonia: but muche greater was their ioye, when they vnderstoode that he was at hande: for remembringe

that he was borne amongest them, and that they had bred and nourished him, and that he was the sonne of so good a father: they helde it for certeine, that in his time Rome (more then euer it did) should flourish, and that euery man in particular, should augment his estate. In respect of the greate loue and reuerence they did beare vnto the father Marcus Aurelius, and the reporte blowne amongst the Romaines of ẏ singular beautie of his sonne Commodus, they did so extremly desire to sée him, that he held him selfe most happy that came furthest off to receiue him. Marche was halfe past when Commodus came to Rome, at which time trées do yealde forth their flowers, and fields their fragrant smelles: against the day that he shoulde enter Rome, the Romains had made all wayes euen and cleane, and banqueting houses deckte with boughes to eate and drincke in: the Senatours came forth in great order, the women of Rome in sumptuous apparel, & the townesmen all with boughes and greene braunches, in such manner they receiued him that day with as greate pleasure and ioy, as if he had entered in his chariote triumphant triumphinge of all Asia. After he entred the citie, that which he firste did, was, in visitinge all the temples within the same: chiefly he stayed in ẏ temple of Iupiter, where he offered sumptuous sacrifices, all the noble men of Rome being present. Also he did visite certaine auncient sepulchers, especially ẏ sepulchre of Adrian, of Traiane, of Antoninus Pius his grandfather, of Faustina his grand mother, & Faustina also his mother: and some thinges ẏ were in them euill handled, or decayed, he cõmaunded to be repaired and made better. Joyning vnto the sepulchre of Adrian, he commaunded another sepulchre to be made, riche and sumptuous, wherein the bones of his father Marcus Aurelius shoulde be translated, which sepulchre being finished, and hauing in remembraunce howe greate loue Marcus Aurelius did beare them, and the good & sincere dealing he vsed with them, the Romaines did visite, honour, and helde his sepulchre in as greate reuerence, as

their

their chiefest temples. This done, Commodus on a day went vnto ỹ Senate, saying and giuinge them warning, that in all and for all thinges, they shoulde followe the ordinaunce of his father, and performe and execute all that he had commaunded them: because after this manner, the imperial state should be conserued as concerning straunge nations: and the common wealth wel gouerned amongst them selues. Also hee commaunded all Iudges of Rome to come before him, charginge and commaundinge them, that without all exception of persons, equally to giue sentence accordinge to iustice: with a warninge, that if any of them shoulde presume to attempt the contrarie, to haue his sentence reuoked, and his person chasticed.

The Romaines receiued greate delight, to sée how Commodus was obedient vnto the Gods, a louer of temples, grateful vnto his friendes, and zelous of the cõmon welth: but alas for sorrowe, so fewe were the monethes, and also the dayes, that this gratious heate endured, that it semed rather they had dreamed it, then that he had done or performed it.

CHAP. VI.

Howe Commodus was cruell, and of the cruelties which he vsed.

In the nintéenth yeare of his age and the thirde yeare of his Empire, he aduertised the Senate, that he would visite all the cities in Italie: at his departinge from Rome he went vnto the mountaines to hunte, on whiche chace, many were the dayes that he imployed, much mony hee spente, but muche and many more were the vices which he there committed.

Thrée monethes and odde dayes he went a fishing at riuers, passinge the fieldes, and huntinge in mountaines: in all whiche time he neuer entered citie, towne, or village, either slepte in anye house: and then sent his com-

» commaundement vnto the Senate to prepare a triumph,
» for that he woulde enter triumphinge into Rome: affir-
» minge, that he better deserued triumph, for killing beasts
» that did eate corne, then other Emperours for killinge of
» men that liued in townes. The Senate neither might or
» durst, but to receiue him with great triumph: & the abho-
» minable Commodus, most odiously in the chariot trium-
» phant, placed a younge man named Anterus, and o-
» pēly, after the manner of man and wife, did imbrace eche
» other. In his progresse and passimes whiche hee vsed in
» those mountaines, he lost no parte of his euill customes:
» but rather added euill vpon euill: that is to say, the fierce-
» nesse which he recouered in slaying of wilde beastes, after
» his comming to Rome he imploied in murdering of ma-
» ny honourable personages. As touchinge the first, it is to
» wēte he banished xviiii. Consuls, possest their goods, and
» made a reward therof vnto his strumpets, & other infa-
» mous persons: whereof fiue by importunate suite, of his
» gratious fauour were restored to their houses, and short-
» ly after he cutt off their heads. There was in Rome a
» Senatour named Birrius, a man in ỹ days of Marcus Au-
» relius much estēmed, who deserued to marry with a sister
» of Commodus: who for that he warned and informed
» Commodus of his euill and foule life, he commaunded
» him and all his friends to be slaine: and also al the alies and
» seruants vnto his sister.

» From the time of Commodus father, there was re-
» maining a certaine prefect named Ebutianus a man moste
» truely auncient in yeares, and no yonglinge in vertues:
» Commodus being aduertised that Ebutianus had much la-
» mented the death of the Consul Birrius: vnto whom Com-
» modus sent a messenger to say vnto him: that he woulde
» vnderstand of him, if he woulde wēpe for the death
» whiche he sente him, as he had wēpt with the life which
» he possessed: whiche being saide, by the commaundement
» of Commodus he cutte off his head.

» Another Senatour named Apolaustus, who also sorow-

ed

ed the death of Ebutianus, Commodus commaunded to
be slaine.

The daye that Apolaustus was executed certeine
young gentlemen of Commodus his chamber, when they
vnderstode of execution done vnto suche as mourned
for Ebutianus: they deuised to make a shewe of great ioye
for the death of Apolaustus to escape the like daunger:
whereof Commodus being aduertised, he commaunded
their throtes to be cutte: saying ỹ for any acte done of the
prince, they ought neither to laugh or weepe: but heare
and see and holde their peace. Also he slewe Seruilius and
Dulius with all their parentage which were descended of
the linage of Silla: and he slewe Antius Lupus Petroni-
us, and Mamertus, with all their bande, which were of
the linage of Marius, affirminge, that he executed the Sil-
lans, to reuenge the Marians, and executed the Mari-
ans to reuenge the Sillans.

There was in Rome a younge gentleman a cousen to
Commodus, both very faire and valiant: and one saying
by chaunce vnto Commodus, that Mamertus Antoni-
anus his cousen, did resemble him in fauour, and imitate
him in valiantnesse: he commaunded them both presentl-
y to be slaine, affirming, that he shoulde be an Emperour
that did so resemble and compare with him. Amongst o-
ther anciente Romaines, there were fiue olde Consuls,
whose names were, Alius Fuscus, Celius Felices, Lucius
Torquatus, Alatius Ropianus, Valerius Bassianus and
Patulius Magnus, who for their impotencie were not a-
ble to come vnto the Senate, he commaunded them all to
be slaine: saying, that he was bounde to do in Rome, as
the good gardener in his orchard: ỹ is to say, that the drie
olde tree must be cutte or puld vp by the roote and cast
into the fire. In the gouernement of Asia, the Senate had
placed Sulpitius Crassus, Iulius Proculus, and
Claudius Lucanus, as Proconsuls to gouerne those
prouinces: whome withe their families, Commodus
gaue order to be murthered with poyson; because in
his

„ his presence they were praised, for their dedes done in A-
„ sia: and also for communication, which they had of his e-
„ uils committed in Rome. Marcus Aurelius visitinge the
„ kingdome of Achaia, had borne vnto him a Neece, and
„ daughter of his sister, named Annia Faustina, whome also
„ Commodus commaunded to be slayne: but the quarell
„ that he had to take away her life, was, for that shee had
„ married without his licence. On a certaine day vpon the
„ bridge of Tiber, were fourtéene noble Romaines talking
„ and passinge the time: and Commodus at that instant
„ passinge that way, saide vnto one that he should demaunde
„ as of him selfe, whereof they talked: vnto whome they an-
„ sweared, that they were recountinge the vertues of Mar-
„ cus Aurelius, and that they had great sorrowe of his death.
„ Commodus hearing this answere, presently and out of
„ hande, commaunded all the xiiii. gentlemen to be hurled
„ headlong ouer the bridge into the riuer: affirming, that
„ they coulde not speake well of his father, but that they
„ must speake euil of him which was his sonne. He woulde
„ many times play with the sworde players: and betwirte
„ ieste and earnest he killed a thousand of them. He was so
„ cruell of nature, and so doughtie in his dedes, that he had
„ no scruple to kill, either feare to be slaine. Commodus
„ perceiuinge that al the Romaines fledd, either to see, heare,
„ speake, or to be conuersant with him, to no other ende but
„ to auoyde occasion to be slaine at his handes: he remem-
„ bred to inuente a conspiracie, which is to weete, to say and
„ publishe, that many had conspired against him to his des-
„ truction: all which he commaunded to be strangled and
„ cutt in peeces, notwithstandinge that any suche conspira-
„ cie was neuer thought of or intended.

CHAP. VII.

Of a certaine conspiracie attempted against Cõmo-
dus, and of Perennius his most fauou-
red counsellour.

Amongest

Amongst other sisters, Commodus had one named Lucilla who in ỹ life of her father Marcus Aurelius, married with a Consul whose name was Lucius Verus, whõ he admitted with him selfe to be cõpanion in the Empire, by such meane as Lucilla was intituled Empresse, & her husbande Emperour. But a yeare and three monethes, Lucius Verus lined as companion in the Empire with Marcus Aurelius, his father in lawe: in suche wise, that euen then, when he was very younge, he losse his life, and Lucilla as younge became a widowe. Lucius Verus being dead, Marcus Aurelius married his daughter Lucilla vnto a noble Romaine named Pompeyanus, a man verie wise in letters, experte in armes, and auncient in yeares. After the death of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus succeding in the Empire, and not then married, did allwayes intreate his sister Lucilla as Empresse, for as muche as shée had beene wife vnto an Emperour: and also being an auncient custome, continued in the malice of man, that although the state be finished, and the goods cõsumed, notwithstanding folly remaineth. Thus stoode the case: Commodus was after married vnto a Romaine ladie named Crispina, vnto whome from thence forthe honour was done, that was accustomed to be vsed vnto Lucilla, ỹ is to say, in ỹ Theatre or open place to sitt in ỹ chiefest seate, to receiue giftes & presents of frée men, and by the ways to haue torch light, and to be recited by name in prayers made in Temples. Mortall was the enuie that Lucilla receiued, to beholde the honour imperiall whiche shée had once in possession, to be remoued, and passe vnto her sister Crispina: and from thence forth, all her deuice, practise, and speach, tended but to ridde her brother Commodus of his life, and Crispina her sister in lawe of her honour.

There was at courte with the prince a young gentleman of Rome, of noble blonde, & of face beautifull, with whom it was bruted, Lucilla vsed vnhonest loue: his name was Quadratus, the sonne of a very riche father, vnto whome

" whome shée discouered the secrete of her intent, to kill her
" brother Commodus, because he persecuted her husbande
" Pompeyanus, & the Empresse Crispina did deadly hate her.
" Quadratus desirous to do Lucilla a pleasure, consen-
" ted to performe that act, & the order which he vsed therin
" was, that he ioyned in counsell with the sonne of a Sena-
" tour named Quincianus, a yong man both doughtie & va-
" liaunt: who shoulde vpon the soudaine, with a swoord
" drawne, enter vpon Commodus in his chamber, with
" these words: This present the Senate sendeth thee: and at
" the instante to cutt off his life. Quincianus accepted this
" enterprise, that is to say, to kill the Emperour Commo-
" dus: but failed at the time of the execution thereof: for
" notwithstanding he had courage sufficiēt to enter ỹ cham-
" ber with a swoord drawen, yet to performe the dede his hart
" was dismaide: in such wise, that the treason was vttered
" and the dēde vnperformed.
" Quincianus was presently taken, and discouered the
" conspiracie that Quadratus and Lucilla had deuised for the
" destructiō of the Emperour Commodus. And for as much
" as Quincianus was sonne vnto a Senatour, Commodus
" did beare so mortall hatred vnto the Senate, that from
" thence forth, whosoeuer named him selfe a Senatour, he
" helde him for a traitour. Immediately after Commodus
" beganne to reigne, a warrlike capteine named Perenni-
" us, fell into his fauour: who in martiall affaires was ve-
" rie experte, and of inclination and condition no lesse per-
" uerse: for his pride was intollerable, & his couetousnesse,
" insatiable. The fauour, conuersation, and credite, that
" Perennius had with Commodus was to the greate preiu-
" dice of al the Romaine people: because if Commodus were
" cruell, Perennius was most cruell: if Commodus had ỹe,
" Perennius did persuade to take vengeance: and beyonde al
" the rest, did not disuade from vice, but inuented new de-
" uises to leade vnto wickednesse. Pompeyanus being a mā
" both honourable and aunciente, and husband vnto Lucilla
" sister vnto Commodus, the Emperour did beare him

some

some reuerence: and ioyntly therewith, Lucilla had the
fame of great riches, in money & iewells: wherof proceeded
no small displeasure vnto Perennius, whoe hardely indu-
red the estimation of others in the courte of the Empe-
rour Commodus.

Where vpon, the treason being discouered, he with
greate impatience did incite the Emperour Commodus,
on Pompeyanus and Lucilla to execute cruel iustice, which
he incessantly persuaded, not for iustice sake, but to finish ỹ
fauour which the Emperour did beare vnto Pompeya-
nus, and to gette vnto him selfe the treasure of the ladie
Lucilla.

When princes be in yre, and furious, they haue much to
consider, of whome they demaunde counsell: becausе, not
a fewe but manie times it hapneth, that the priuate and fa-
uoured courtiour giueth counsell vnto the prince, not so
muche for the fauour he beareth to the execution of ius-
tice, as for the reuengement of his owne cruell and dam-
nified harte. The tyrant Perennius beholding Cõmodus
inflamed with yre, did knowe to take the profite and be-
nefite of time: that is to say, Pompeyanus, Lucilla, Qua-
dratus, Quincianus and al their affinitie, brothers, friends
& seruants, he caused to be slaine, put to death, their goods
to be confiscate, in such wise, that he was not onlie reuen-
ged of all his enimies, but also applied vnto him selfe all
their treasure.

After the death of these persons, all the affaires
of the Empire were gouerned at the will, wisedome,
& pleasure of Perennius: who grewe to be a lord so absolute
of the Empire, that al ambassages that came to Commo-
dus, he only heard them: and all letters missiue he reade
and answered them, in such manner, that Commodus
bare ỹ name of Emperour, & Perennius did enioy the em-
pire. All offices and rewards being giuen by the handes of
Perennius, procured seruice and diligence from all men, ỹ
in as much, as he that might do most, saued most: but he
was so harde of condition, and of golde and riches so cruel

and

" and couetous, that of mere grace he gaue no office, but
" by the weight of pure money alwayes did sell the same:
" and to him that woulde not buy, hee gaue presentes more
" deare then the money which he demaunded. Perennius
" had enrolde the names of all the moneyed men in Italie,
" which if they did not present him some riche iuells, hee
" procured them to be placed in offices: wherein he did seeke
" quarells, to spoile them of their liues, and to robbe them
" of their goods.

CHAP. VIII.

Of a conspiracie that Perennius wrought against the Emperour Commodus.

IN verye shorte time Perennius became very riche, but his presumption and riches being examined and laide together, without comparison muche greater was the pride whiche he did shewe, then the treasures which he possessed. Commodus had suche confidence in Perennius, that he not onely committed vnto him the gouernement of the whole common wealth, but also the order and honour of his house: in so muche that Perennius was of the one and the other so absolute & so dissolute, that he was not contented to robbe Cõmodus of his riches, but also vsed vnlawfull companie with his owne especiall courtisans, by whõe he had both sonnes and daughters. Perennius had sonnes growne to mans estate, whiche were in the armies: and when any notable déede was done in the warres, he would reporte at the Emperours table, that it was perfourmed and atchiued by his sonnes: in such wise, that frõ them ỹ were in peace he bereft their goods, and them that died in ỹ warrs he spoiled of their honour. In ỹ fifte yeare of Com-
" modus reigne, the Senate sent an huge armie against the
" Britaines, whereof Perennius was admitted both Consul
" and capteine: in whiche iourney he was not satisfied, to be
" serued as one in fauour, and obeyed as Consul: but would
" bee reuerenced as a prince, and adored as a God.
"

Perennius

Perennius prospering in his martiall affaires, and holding the whole common wealth in his owne handes, and possessing wealth aboue all reckoning, he then immagined to want nothing but the attainement of the Romaine empire: for the accomplishement whereof, he throughly determined to kill his Lorde and maister Commodus, placing his sonnes Pretors ouer all the armies, to be readie at hande in time vppon the newes of the death of the Emperour *Commodus*. Perennius also had drawne vnto his parcialitie certeine Senatoures, and other the welthiest neighbours and citizens of Rome by giftes and rewardes in secret, but in especiall by aggrauating the wicked life of *Commodus*. On the fourth day of May, the Romaines did celebrate the greate feast of Iupiter *Capitoline*, whereunto not onely the whole people of Rome, but also of all cities of Italie did concurre: and when the Emperour on that day was resident in Rome, alwayes in his owne person went to authorize and see the feast. The Emperour *Commodus* beholding the playes and pageants prouided for that triumph, and *Crispina* his wife being placed on the one hande, and Perennius the priuate and greately fauoured courtier, set on the other hande: they behelde a carte comming al couered with boughes, crying continually for rome and audience. And when they were come vnto the presence of the Emperour *Cō*modus and all persons by his commaundement vsing silence, the people thinking they would haue vttered some pageant or matter of dispорte: soudeinly there appeared a man aloft vppon the carte, which had a long beарde, a shæpeheardes hooke in one hande, and a sling in the other: and from the girdle vpwarde all naked, his other garments very poore, and after the manner of a Philosopher, and directing his woordes vnto *Commodus*, saide:

The Oration to Commodus

O Commodus, it well seemeth that thou arte a

Prince, and that verie young, whiche arte in theſe playes and delightes ſo careleſſe and negligent, which thou oughteſt not to doe, becauſe Princes of thy age, eſtate, and condition, runne muche more in perill, in their exceſsiue pleaſures, then in their meane trauailes. Being (as thou arte) rigorous with thine owne, and furious and vnbridled with ſtraungers, thou oughteſt to conſider, and not to be vnmindfull, that thou haſt enimies: for the Prince that is feared of manie, hath iuſt cauſe alſo to feare manie. The greateſt riches, and the beſt treaſure in this world, is trueth, whereof Princes be moſte poore of all people: for that their eares being fild and led away with lyes, may take no taſte in matters of trueth. Thou Commodus and other Princes, do not euil gouerne your common wealthes of any prepenced malice to deſtroye the ſame: but becauſe ye giue not, either delight your ſelues to heare the poore that be grieued and oppreſſed, when they complaine, neither the good, godly, and vertuous, when they giue aduiſement, of the greate and horrible vices of briberie, extortion, and violent robberies, committed by officers, by the priuate and fauoured, by the mightie and men of power. Great is the fault of Princes, for the vices which they committ, but much greater is their offence in diſſembling the offences of their fauoured ſeruaunts, becauſe ye offend not, but onely the Gods, but they both offende the Gods, vexe and trouble men, & are traitours to your own perſons. Although Commodus, thou be licentious, diſſolute, wilfull, & alſo not very honeſt: it is impoſsible, but if the hurtes and miſchiefes, ſcandals, and robberies, committed by thy officers & fauoured ſeruants, were notified &

giuen

giuen thee to vnderſtand, thou wouldeſt commaund them to be amẽded, & alſo to be remedied: for in the ende there is no Prince ſo euill, that deſireth not his common wealth to flouriſh. At theſe dayes, trueth in Princes houſes is ſo odious, that who ſo aduentureth but to make reporte therof, of death he muſt haue determination: and if any ſuch do eſcape with life, it proceedeth of ſome conceite to be ſpoken of madneſſe. That, which at this preſent I will ſay & diſcouer, I proteſt vnto the immortal Gods, it proceedeth not of madneſſe, for that my natural iudgement is confirmed with reaſon: either do I ſay it of malice, to be reuenged of any perſon: but onely (Oh Commodus) to deliuer thy life of great peril, and to franchiſe Rome from ſeruitude of a tyrant: for that which I preſume to ſaye, and aduenture to diſcouer, I am aſſured before my tale be ended, my life ſhalbe taken away. But (O Commodus) I giue thee to vnderſtande, that if thou wilt not giue faith vnto my woordes, the time will come, when thou ſhalt vnderſtand the trueth, of all that I haue ſaide, when thy miſchiefe may haue no remedie. Thou (Commodus) art there ſet & placed, with the Empreſſe Criſpina on thy right hand, & on thy left hand thy priuate & fauoured Perennius, but hadſt thou certeine intelligẽce, what he hath ordeined againſt thee, with thine owne hands ỹ wouldeſt burie him quick. Perennius hath not been ſatiſfied, to put to death all good men, to be reuenged of his enimies, to haue deſtroyed all thy ſeruants, to haue robbed all thy treaſures: but that nowe he practiſeth to take away thine owne life, to aduaunce and exalt him ſelfe to the whole power of this citie and common wealth.

O Commodus, if thou knowe not, I giue thee to vnderſtand, ỹ the ſonnes of Perennius, by fraud haue incẽſed thy armies of Illyria againſt the. Perẽnius him ſelfe ceaſeth not to corrupt the Senate, and ſecretly ſeketh to winne the mindes of men, giuing giftes, and large rewardes vnto the people: and all to the ende that vpon the firſt newes of thy death, without contradictiõ, he may poſſeſſe ỹ whole eſtate of ỹ Romane Empire. And think not, that Perennius doth now begin to attẽpt this treaſon, for ỹ of great certeintie I do aſſure thee, that many dayes paſt he hath put the ſame in practiſe, & is vpon the point, at this inſtant, to haue it to be executed: in ſo much that if on this day I had not aduentured to giue thee warning, be thou aſſured, that on this preſent day before this feaſt had bene finiſhed, thy life had here bene ended.

» Until that poore man had ſaide, that on that day Com-
» modus death was prepared, not onely the people gaue
» eare, but alſo Perennius: whoe preſently roſe out of his
» chayre with greate furie, commaunding the ſword play-
» ers to kill that preſumptuous and raſhe dizarde, who was
» preſently ſlaine, drawne, cut in peeces and burnt.
» Perennius of all men ſo deadly hated, by this poore
» mannes tale, ſunke into ſuſpicion of the people, and alſo
» Commodus conceiued againſt him ſome ſcruple: but
» that Philoſopher being there ſlaine, and Perennius in ſo
» greate power, although they had all ſuſpicion of his trea-
» ſon, yet no man there durſt ſpeake a worde. The matter
» remaining certeine dayes more ſuſpicious then cleare:
» there came gentlemen from Illyria, and brought certein
» peeces of golde, wherein bothe the name & alſo the Image
» of Perennius was ingrauen: whiche money Perennius
» commaunded his ſonnes in greate ſecrecie to be made.

The

The coyners thereof being aduertised what the Philo-
sopher had saide, and being in greate doubt in processe of
time to be discouered, came vnto Commodus and mani-
fested the whole matter, which were not onely pardo-
ned, but also largely rewarded. The treason being de-
tected, which the traitour and tyrant Perennius had deui-
sed, it seemed good vnto the friendes of Commodus, and
the enimies of Perennius, to the ende to deliuer him from
all suspicion, first and immediately to cut off his head: for
that Perennius being guilefull, and in great power, might
haue preuented his owne execution with the slaughter of
others.

A great parte of the night being past, and Perennius
reposing in his owne house, Commodus commaunded
him to be called in great haste, aduertising him at the in-
stant of letters out of Asia: who entring the Emperours
chamber, founde not Commodus, but yet wanted not
that presently cut off his head. At the instant that Pe-
rennius was put to death, a post with greate spéde was
sent into Illyria, by whome Commodus did write vn-
to the sonnes of Perennius, that all thinges set aparte,
they should repaire to Rome to visite their father being
sicke in his bedde: to the ende that if the destinies shoulde
permit his death, to succéde in his place. The sonnes of
Perennius did well thinke that all had bene truthe which
was written vnto them, and nothing doubting the detec-
tion of their treason, presently departed towards Rome:
but at their entrie of the first citie of Italie, they were
made shorter by bothe their heades. This in conclusion
was the ende of ỹ tyrant Perennius, which lost his sonnes,
his goods, his honour, and his life: not rather for any mis-
chiefe, then for his presumption and pride. Of this exam-
ple, let all Princes take warning, howe they magnifie
their seruauntes with to greate wealth and power: and
this is saide, because potencie ingendreth enuie: and o-
uermuch riches doth breede and bring forth pride.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Of the tyrant Maternus, and of his treason against Commodus.

EXceeding ioy did the Romaines receiue of the death of Perennius, and his sonnes, because his auarice and pride was more sharpe and intollerable, then the folly of Commodus. The offices of Perennius were diuided amongest many: because it seemed, that so greate authoritie and power, to be placed and committed in one person, were to put his life in perill, and his Empire to commission. Incredible and innumerable were the richesse, iewels, and money, that were confiscate by the death of Perennius and his sonnes: but they were so wilfully and wickedly diuided and spent, that whatsoeuer Perennius gathered by extortion and briberie, Commodus spent & imployed in vices. There was in those dayes in Italie a certeine man named Maternus, who from his childhood was bred in the armies of Illyria: of nature bolde and baliant, subtile, painefull, sharpe or quicke, proude, seditious, and stammering, in such wise, that as he was filthie of his toung, so was he soudeine of his handes. In all debates, seditions, and mutinies which happened in the campes, or cities, this Maternus was euer founde one, either the chiefe authour thereof, or else to be noted aboue the rest, because they saye, this was his common speache, that on that daye, wherein he shed no blonde, wine had no good reliche. The captaines of the armies did partly beare with him for his baliantnesse, but on the other side, they might not endure his continuall quarelinges, and in the ende his lewdnesse being growen intollerable, they did not onely dispatche him from the warres, but also did banishe him the confines of Italie.

This Maternus being a ringleader of all wicked and desperate persons that were in the armies, many did accom-

companie and also followe him in that exile: not to remaine as bounde to leade a better life, but to haue libertie to committ muche euil. With those companions that Maternus had recouered from the armies, and with others that dayly ioyned with him, he obteined vnder his Standarde twentie thousande footemen, and two thousand horsemen within the space of foure monethes: with which people Maternus committed so many robberies, burnings, and slaughters in the cities and territories of Italie, as if an Hanibal had bëne raised from the dead to conquere Rome.

Italie being robbed and sacked, Maternus departed into Lombardie, and from thence into Fraunce, and after into Spaine: in which kingdomes, he continued in that courtesie whiche he vsed in Italie: and that whiche was moste to be marueiled, was, that his armie daily increased, and no man attempted to resist him, in suche wise, wise, that with them which were present, he did yeld occasion to be busied, and with them that were absent, he ministred matter of communication. This tyrant Maternus and his people, helde no other trade but to rob temples, to sacke townes, to scowre the fieldes, to spoyle corne, to burne houses, to force women, to defile virgins: and that whiche was worste, that not contented for them selues to liue at libertie, they brake prisons, and set at large all malefactours.

It is amongest euils the supreme euil, and in tyrantes the greateste tyrannie, that they of them selues will not liue according to reason and iustice, but that also they wil not consent that malefactours be committed to iustice. Maternus and his armie remaining in Spaine, Cõ- »
modus wrote vnto all the Pretors of those countries, to »
raise an armie of great power, to destroy the tyrant Ma- »
ternus, and to make greate promises by publique procla- »
mations, that vnto him whiche should cutt off the heade, »
or take the bodie or person of Maternus, shoulde haue in »
rewarde all his goodes, and his picture aduaunced and »

" set vp in Rome.

" The first proclamations were published in Saragosa,
" at which time Maternus was resident in Taragon, who
" being aduertised that they of Spaine prepared an armie
" against him, and that amongest the captaines great wa-
" gers were laide, who shoulde first ridde him of his life: he
" determined to returne into Italie with determination to
" kill Commodus in Rome. Where vpon Maternus mosse
" secreatly conferred, with his chief and special friends & ar-
" rantest theeues and most doughtie personages, to forsake
" the armye: severally diuidinge them selues, by sundrye
" wayes vpon one certaine and appointed day without faile
" to make their meetingin Rome. Presently after Maternus
" was gonne out of sight, al ỹ remnant of his army was dis-
" maide and fel in peces, wherof there were infinite taken,
" strangled, drowned, drawne & hãged: in such wise, that in so
" great a number of theues, none had better aduenture, then
" to be slaine or put to death, except he had friendly fauour of
" fortune to be made a bondman. Maternus & his cõpanions,
" the day, houre, & place, on which they had agréd in Spaine,
" ioyntly did encounter at Rome: whiche for a time wente
" dispersed & disguised by day, but ioyned by night to com-
" mitt their thefftes: being furnished for their prouision,
" but onely with suche prouision as they might pick by day,
" and steale by night, wherein they vsed so greate shiftes,
" guile, and skill, that although they accompanied but by
" couples, yet, if the warde or watche by daye or night did
" attempt to arrest or offende any one, at an instant they
" were all ready for his defence: in such wise, that although
" they wer of great disorder in their life: yet they vsed great
" conformitie in agréement for the manner and fashion of
" their robberies

One of the thinges wherein the malice of man mosse readily doeth shewe it selfe is, that to doe euill, wee are soone agreed: but to perfourme a good woorke, wee consent with greate difficultie.

" Commodus was well persuaded, that the tyraunt

Matern

Maternus was nowe deade, imagining in his owne con-
ceit, that at the forsaking of his campe, and renouncing of
his armie, of extreme desperation and horrour of him selfe,
he had desperately drowned or committed him selfe to the
halter. But Maternus in recompence of the losse of his
potencie, and negligence of his honour, bent all his studie to
deliuer Commodus from his life. The Romaines holde a
custome vppon the tenth day of Marche, to celebrate the
feast of the Goddesse Berecyntha: on that day the Empe-
rour and the Senate went vnto her temple, to offer sacrifi-
ces, which done and performed, generally all persons for
the most part disguised them selues, masking and feasting
throughout the whole citie: in suche manner, their faces
being couered, the one was vnknowne vnto the other. Ma-
ternus and other his fellowe theeues and friendes, had a-
greed to weare secrete armour, with face disguised, that
when the Emperour Commodus should most chiefly be
addicted to viewe and beholde the playes, and his guarde
most careleste of his person: by a counterfet brawle amongst
them selues, to finde ready meane to cut off his life. But
notwithstanding Maternus had lost his welth, power, and
honour, he ceased not to continue proude, hautie, and dis-
dainefull: seeking to be serued and reuerenced, not as a
friende and pere companion, but after the manner of a
Prince, and as one that were very rich. Whereupon cer-
taine of his companions, being not onely wearyed, but ty-
red, to walke lurkingly in corners, and not able to indure
to be handled with so great seruitude: and further, fea-
ring some day to be discouered, they repayred vnto Com-
modus, and with great secrecie manifesting the whole
matter, which is to wit, that Maternus the tyrant was a
liue, and fully determined in those playes and feastes to
kill him. Incredible was the feare wherewith Commo-
dus was touched, when he hearde that Maternus the ty-
rant was aliue: and no lesse was his ioy, to consider the
conspiracie to be detected: and notwithstanding Commo-
dus had intelligence thereof certaine dayes before the

" feast, hée suspended the execution thereof vntill the day of
" the Goddesse Berecyntha: to the end that nothing should be
" reuealed vnto Maternus, of that which was discouered
" vnto Commodus. The maner that Maternus deuised to
" murder Commodus, the same did Commodus vse to take
" and kill Maternus, that is to say: the great day of the feast
" being come, as Maternus and his band came masked and
" armed: so Commodus brought forth his men armed and
" disguised: and with a set quarell the traitour and tyraunt
" Maternus was slaine, and his men cutt all to péces. The
" greatest feast of that feast was celebrate, in strãgling, he-
" wing, mangling, drawing & burning of the bodies of these
miserable théues: because it is an euident lawe for ty-
rants, that the hurtes, robberies, slaughters, violences, and
burninges, which they haue committed in many dayes,
they come to make repayment thereof in one houre.

CHAP. X.

¶ Of the inexpected death of Cleander, a fauoured and most priuate seruant vnto Commodus.

After the death of the tyrant Maternus, the Emperour Commodus passed his life in great doubt and feare, imagining with himselfe, that some day they would dispatch him, either eating or sléeping: for he did both knowe, and also would say, that they were fewe which prayed for his life, but very many that sighed for his death. Untill Commodus died hée euer walked warely: for hée doubled his guard, to guard him by day, and strongly shutt in his house by nighte: in that which hée did eate, in his lodging where he slept, on the palfrey wheron he roade, on the garments which hée did weare, hée set great watche: in such wise, that hée paid it but only with his life that durst touch his garment.

Very séldome he went to the Senate, and much lesse

did

did ride openly in the citie: hée had no talke with strangers but by writing: with his subiects he had no conference, but by a person intermitted: and that which was more marueil, hée had many times such conceite, not onely to refuse to write, aunsweare, heare causes, or dispatch affayres: but also in foure or fiue dayes would not speake onely one word. In the xi. yeare of his Empyre, Maternus the tyraunt was slaine: on the next yeare there followed a great pestilence, and a generall hunger, in which hunger and pestilence, the third part of Italie was consumed. Immediatly after the pestilence had entred Rome, Commodus departed vnto ỹ citie of Laurento, where were planted many Laurel trées, for which cause the citie was named Laurento: where also the Emperour more remayned, then in any other place: the Physicians giuing him to vnderstand, that to be vnder the shadowe therof, was very proper and conuenient for defence of the pestilence. Notwithstanding the scarsitie of bread and wine that was that yeare, further, a certaine occasion of great hũger happened in Rome, which was as followeth. When the good Marcus Aurelius triumphed ouer the Argonautes, he brought amongest other captiues a younge man named Cleander: who was openly solde in the market place in Rome, and by chaunce bought by a clarke of the kitchin, to swéepe & make cleane the larder at courte. This slaue Cleander became so handsome in swéeping, seruing, and pleasing his maister, that not many yeares after, he did not onely make him frée, and marrie him with his daughter, but also did aduance him to the office of Clarke of the kitchin: in such maner, that from the estate of a bondman, hée indued him with the condition of a sonne. Nowe when Cleander sawe himselfe frée, married, and in office in the Court, he trauelled to obteine the good will of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, which he obteyned by carefulnesse in seruice, and diligence in his office: and vsed therin so great diligence and promptnesse, that he was neuer noted, either slacke in prouision, or false in reckoning.

Marcus

" Marcus Aurelius being deade, Commodus forgate not
" to remoue Cleander from the affayres of the kitchin, and
" made him capitaine of his guard, and Lord great Cham-
" berlaine of his chamber. Vnto none of as many as did
" serue & accompany Commodus in his youth that hée was
" gratefull, but vnto Cleander: vnto whom it had bin much
" better, neuer to haue risen to so great honour: for thereof
" onely proceéded the losse of his life. Althoughe the fauour
" of Cleander did rise in ieste or of small causes, he framed in
" fewe dayes to performe the same in earneste, which was as
" followeth: that as Commodus grew into disgrace, & was
" abhorred and had no care of the gouernement of the Em-
" pire, Cleander did preste and in such maner did thronge to
" entermedle with affayres, that for the more part all mat-
" ter were dispatched at his will and pleasure: in such wise,
" that Commodus gaue or firmed nothinge, if Cleander
" did not signe or allowe the same. Commodus had neuer
" any priuate or fauoured seruaunt, that in all points could
" so winne his will as Cleander: who affirmed to wishe no-
" thing, that Commodus wished not, either to allowe any
" thing that hée said not: but aduouched also that he did not
" thinke or dreame, but that which Commodus did dreamé
" and thinke: and with these and suche like lyes and flat-
" teries, hee wan the hart of Commodus, and obteyned ser-
" uice of the whole Empire. After Cleander beheld him-
" selfe the onely priuate and fauoured seruaunt of Com-
" modus, hée easily made himselfe rich: obteyning the custo-
" die, not onely of the whole common treasure, but also the
" kéeping of all the monie and iewels of the Emperour Cō-
" modus: and further in giuing offices, and receiuing pre-
" sentes, his sinceritie exceéded not. But Cleander finding
" himselfe in so great magnificence, began not greatly to re-
" garde so great fauour, or much lesse the obteyning of so
" great wealth: conceyuing in the end, that Commodus did
" vse him as a vassall, and that hée must accompt him as his
" Lord: to cut off which opprobrie, and to giue contentation
" vnto his heart, he determined to kill Commodus, and for

him-

himselfe to vsurpe the Empire. Cleander did build at the
port Salaria, most costly and delectable bathes, and comaun-
ded proclamation to be made in Rome, to notifie vnto all
men, that would bathe therein, to be discharged of all cost,
and frely to vse the same: and also added thereunto great
pastimes, and preparations vnto all kinde of vices: in such
wise, that there they cleansed their bodies, & defiled their
soules. Many times Cleander did inuite the Senate, and
sent them particular presents home to their houses: The
Prætors, Censors, Questors, Tribunes, Prefectes, and
other Romane officers, he caused their dueties to be paied:
and all the men of warre he did not onely pay them, but al-
so did trauel to hold them contented: in such maner, that
some with vitious delights and pleasures, and some by re-
wards, giftes, and monie, in a maner he recouered all men
for his friendes. In the yeare of great hunger and pesti-
lence in Italie, Cleander bought all the wheat in the coun-
tries adioyning vnto Rome: wherein his intent was, not
to gaine or make a profite thereof, but to bring Rome into
a necessitie, to ỹ end that all men should come to his house
for wheate: and therein to haue vsed so great liberalitie, in
selling good cheape, and giuing plentifully, in a yeare so
deare, that after the death of the Emperour Commodus,
they should not mislike to giue him the Empire. And as
hunger increased cruelly, a great part of the yeare beeing
as yet to come, and the people not knowing Cleanders in-
tent, who did neither giue or sell any wheate: soudainly al
Rome did rise, exclaming death and treason against Clean-
der, as an vsurper of the goodes of the common wealth.
Cleander being a man valiaunt, of great power, and Cap-
taine of the guard, comaunded all the men of his captaine-
ship, to be armed: who did place themselues in the com-
passe of his house, for the garde of his person, and to resiste
that ciuil furie: although it be most true, that hée rather
defended the sacking of his house, then of feare to defende
his life. The townesmen on the one side, and Cleander on
the other part, trauersed amongest themselues so long and
perilous

" perillous a contention: that it ſæmed no other matter, but
" that Silla and Marius were once more fallen into fight, for
" the ſeignorie of Rome. And as Cleanders partie was de-
" fended with men both armed and determined, in the firſt
" onſet they executed ſo great ſlaughter amongeſt the peo-
" ple, that ſcarſly a ſtreate was to be founde in Rome, that
" was not bathed with bloud: either any place great or li-
" tle, that was not filled with dead bodies. The townesmen
" perceyuing the ſlaughter and hauocke which the men of
" warre ſo cruelly did performe amongeſt them, retired e-
" uery man into his houſe: and fortifying their doores, they
" fought from their windowes and houſe toppes, and from
" thence threw and whirld out ſtones, tiles, ſpitts, potts, and
" caldrons: and in that ſo common danger, no leſſe did womē
" fight then men: & Cleanders partie ſo hardly handled, that
" ſcarcely remained a hundred ỹ were not ſlaine or woũded.
" Whilſt theſe dæds were doing at Rome, Commodus was
" recreating himſelfe in an houſe which he had in an orchard,
" and Cleander being of great power, of ſome feared, and of
" others beloued, no man durſt make report therof vnto Cō
" modus, becauſe ſo ſtrong was the frendſhip betwirt them,
" that they feared the diſpleaſure of the one, and the vnkinde-
" nes of them both. There was in the Courte a ſiſter vnto
" Commodus named Fadilla: whoſe eyes being charged w̃
" teares, and tearing her haire from her head, as one in gret
" diſtreſſe, ſaid vnto her brother Commodus. Moſt ſerene
" prince, and right deare brother, if thou wert aduertiſed of
" the condition and eſtate of Rome, thou wouldeſt not be
" ſo careleſſe ſolacing in this garden: becauſe I giue thee to
" vnderſtand, that the yeomē of thy guard in the fauour of
" Cleander, and al the other people of the common wealth,
" haue trauerſed amongeſt themſelues ſo cruell a fight, that
" if preſētly at this inſtant thou prouide not ſome remedie,
" this day wil be the end of the Romane people. The exce-
" ding honour, the great riches, & to to much fauour which
" thou haſt imployed vppon Cleander, hath raiſed him into
" excceding great pride, wherof although he be in the fault,

yet

yet the occasion hath beene giuen by thee: for as thou ma- „
kest Lordes of bondmen, it is most certaine that they will „
make slaues of Lords & noble men. The people be so fu- „
rious against Cleander, & Cleander and his men so flesht „
against the people, that thou haste to chuse one of two „
thinges; which is to witt, to yeld Cleander vnto the com- „
mon people, or els to abide what fortune of them and vs „
shalbe proued: for as the case standeth now impoisoned, it „
is impossible, that ioyntly thy life and his person this day „
may be preserued. These words being spoken by the in- „
fant Fadilla, all men present recouered new boldnes, per- „
suading Commodus to remoue Cleander from amongest „
them, and so to appease the whole people of Rome: and to „
hold the ease of the common wealth more deare, then the „
friendship or life of Cleander. Commodus hearing these „
matters, & dismaid with feare, forthwith cõmaunded Cle- „
ander to come vnto his presence: and at the instante of his „
appearance, commaunded his head to be cut off, which be- „
ing set vpon a lance, and carried about *Rome*, immediatly „
the whole multitude was pacified. Cleander being put to „
death, his children, seruauntes, & friends, were executed, „
whose bodies after they were drawen by boyes through- „
out Rome, were throwen into sinkes and places of vile or- „
dure. This was the conclusion and end of Cleander, and „
the end of his children, his houle, gwdes, and honour: who „
though for many things, ought to be reprehended, yet one- „
ly for one thing he deserueth praise, namely, that he had ra- „
ther die a gentleman, then liue a slaue.

CHAP. XI.

¶The report of a fire which descended from heauen, and burnt in Rome the temple of peace.

One of the most notable exãples, wherin fortune hath discouered the inconstancie of her whéele, was in the discourse

discourse that she had & vsed wyth Cleander and his house: whoe in short space, of a slaue made a frée man, of a frée man a Steward, of a Steward a Pretour, of a Pretour a Chamberlaine, & of a Chamberlaine, in effect a Monarche of the world: and afterwards in one day, and in one houre, was vtterly destroyed: whereby wée haue to learne, that While wee liue in this life, with suretie wee possesse nothing. Hee ought not to be dismaide, that from an high estate, is descended vnto a poore degree: neither ought he to glorie or grow proud, that from a base estate, is aduanced to honour: for ther is none in so wretched condition, that hopeth not to growe better: either is there any so set a loft, that needeth not to doubt to catch a fall.

The present day that Cleander was put to death, Commodus repaired vnto his imperial Palace, & neuer more returned vnto his garden, neither to dwell, either as much as to solace: and if in times past hee had bin cruell, from thence forth hée was much more cruell, and also suspicious: for hée conceyued that popular sedition procéded not, to take vengeaunce of Cleander, but for deuice to dispatch him of his life. His friends, his kinsefolks, his counsellers, his seruaunts, his natural subiects, and also strangers, hée held them all his vtter enimies: because he doubted that all maner of men, that came to speake with him, came to deceiue him: and such as repaired to visite him, " that by treason they would kill him. In the xij. yeare of " his Empire on the xvij. day of March, at none the heauen " was séene full of starres, as if it had béene midnight: and " that which was most meruell, and neuer read in bookes, or " séen with eyes, that on the euening when the Sunne na- " turally was accustomed to be séene to sett in the Weste, " they behold rising in the East. In ỹ moneth of July next " following, a Comet appeared in heauen, as large as a " great beame, and so flamed with fire, directing his spar- " kles vnto the citie of Rome. On the xx. day of the mo- " neth of August, soudenly the heauens being cleare, neither " raynie or cloudie, in Rome there strake an horrible clap of thunder,

thunder: and after the thunder, there came a globe of fire, which burned the temple, named the temple of peace. This tẽple in authoritie was most auncient, in buildinges most stately, in riches most wealthie, with prielkes most published, and in deuotion most estæmed: because in all other Churches, the Romanes might pray vnto their Gods sitting or standing: but there were forced to pray on their knées. All men which had monie, treasure, iewels, or rich stuffe, layd it all vp in the temple of peace: not onely thinking them most safe, by ỹ stronge building of the Church, but also of deuotion to commende and offer their goodes vnto the God of peace, to obteine permission to enioy quietnes. The losse which the Romanes receiued, by those flames of fire, did excæde all reckoning: for ỹ in a maner all rich men had there their riches burnt & consumed: in such wise, that no heart might endure, either yet dissemble, to heare the cries of men, and the exclamation of women: euery man recounting his losse vnto his neighbour, & ioyntly bewayling the burning of the temple. Now when the temple of peace was burnt, visibly they did sæ it passe, vnto the temple of the vestall virgins: which wholy it consumed, leauing no signe of any building thereof. And yet notwithstanding, better order was taken for the remedie thereof, then in the other temple: for presently vppon the kindling of the fire, they toke out the vestall virgins, whiche there were inclosed, and the reliques which the Romanes had there reposed And for as much as wæ haue said of reliques, it is to vnderstand, that the Romanes had in that temple the Palladium: that is to say, the image of the goddesse Pallas, which fell from heauen vpon the walls of Troy, and from thence was brought to Rome: which was holden in as great veneration, as the arke of the Lord amonges the Israelites. The Romanes held that Image of the Goddesse Pallas, so shut vp, inclosed and hidden: that long time after shæ was brought from Troy, of mortall man being neuer sæne: either of Consul, Emperour, or priest: for they had a prophecie, that in the yeare, in which

that Image should be seene, there should be great chaunge in the prosperitie of Rome.

The Romanes remoued their vestall virgins, and the Image of their Goddesse Pallas, vnto the house of Commodus: and so great was the lamentation amongest the Romanes, to behold their vestall virgins set at large, and their Palladium discouered, that without comparison they did much more bewaile the burning of their temple of reliques, then the other temple that conteyned all their riches. After this globe of fire had burned the temple of Peace, and the temple of Reliques, it burned also many other sumptuous buildinges: not burning alongest after the manner of other fire, but amongest many houses burnt one, and farre off from thence would burne another: wherof the Romanes did gather, that it was not the fire in vse amongest men, seruing onely to burne: but a fire sent from the Godds, to consume and chastice. These terrible fireinges, and prodigious spectacles, of the Romanes being cõsidered, if vntil that time they did wishe the Emperour euill, from thencefoorth they could neither endure to behold him, either abide with patience to heare his name: for they held it for certeintie, that all those euill signes wherwith the Godds did threaten the Common wealth, were all sent for his foule and filthie life. This globe of fire continued by the space of a vi. dayes: in all which time it ceased not to burne temples and houses. On the vij. day Commodus rode out of the citie, and at the instante that he went out at the gates, soudainely the fire ceased: which confirmed the Romanes in their opinion, namely that during the life of Commodus, the Romane people of the gods should alwayes be scourged.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

¶ Of many cruelties, and not a fewe phantastical practises of Commodus.

AS it hath bëene said, Commodus continued certaine dayes very sad and pensiue, when he considered how traytors sought occasion to take away his life, and the terrible flames and burninges of Rome: but in short time after, hë both forgat the chastisement of the Gods, and conspiracies of men: and this manifestly appeared, for that he so stoutly returned to all his vices, as if he had neuer bëene vitious. Cleander being dead, hë made Niger Prefect, and after fiue houres hee did reuoke his power, and commaunded him to be banished: and prouided also Galba Rufus for his Chamberlaine, whom after foure houres he discharged of his office, and sent him in exile: and when Niger & Rufus complained of their griefes, Commodus aunswered, hë did not banishe them for that which they had done, but for that which they might doe. He created Prefect Marcus Dulius, a man (most certaine) right generous and auncient: whome after thrë dayes hë remoued from his office, and comaunded him vntill his death, in his house to be prisoner, the occasion whereof was, for that (as hë affirmed) Marcus was very old and spente, and therefore it were no reason he should be troubled of any person: and also, that if any man should request any thing, hë mighte aunsweare him, that hë was a prisoner, and might not go out of his dores to doe him pleasure. He gaue the Senate to vnderstand, that hë would go into Africa, and had necessitie, for his nauie by sea, & his army by land, of a great summe of monie: although the Senate did suspect it but a collusion, they durst not but open the treasurie, and diuide with him the treasure: for otherwise, he would both make hauocke of their liues and treasure.

In April the Senate gaue forth their monie and when

Commodus was in possession thereof, he vsed his departing vnto Campania, to take men of warre: where hée remayned all that Summer, and also parte of the next winter, eating, drinking, fishing, hunting, playing, wrastling, running, leaping, dauncing, swimming, and such other vanities. All the Senate was much ashamed, and all the Romanes not a litle touched, after they vnderstood the monie which was giuen out for the warres of Africa, to be so vitiously consumed by Commodus in Campania. After his returne to Rome, Commodus was aduertised, that Motilenus Prefect for that yeare, had murmured more at him, then any other person: and for very griefe and despight did wéepe, to sée their monie prouided for the warres, spent in so wicked vses: Commodus confected certaine figgs, and inuited Motilenus to dinner, who being fed with figs died ỳ third day following. One day he clad himself as a priest, right pontifically, and placed himselfe aloft on a coche of 4. furious horses: the Romanes supposing he would offer sacrifices at the temple, he mounted certeine rockie cliftes & mountaines: and there against all reason ran his charriot, where his horses happened to be all to torne, & his chariot rent all to péeces, and hée brake his head, and wrenched his foote: finally he made a narrow misse, in repayment of his follie, that day to haue lost his life. On a day he went to ỳ Senate, and said that hee would not haue Rome named Rome, but Cõmodiana: and the Senate aunswered, they were both pleased to call Rome Cõmodiana, and the Senate Cõmodiano. That which the Senators supposed to be demaunded in iest, also consenting in iest, Commodus did accept in earnest: & from thencefoorth, the letters which were written, the prouisions which were made, & the seals therto ioyned, in al such instruments Rome was intituled Cõmodiana, & the Senate Cõmodiano: and if by negligẽce any man happened to be oblivious therof, & to vse ỳ name of Rome, presently he was banished from thence, to séeke Rome: for that was not, but Cõmodiana. The priests of ỳ Goddesse Isis were commanded to come into his presence,

and

and said vnto them, that shée had reuealed vnto him, that
their heads should be shauen, and that hée was commaun-
ded as high priest to performe the same: and with a blunte
knife hée cutt their nailes, and blunting his knife vppon
stones, would drie shaue their heades: in such wyse, that
as their haire was drie, and his knife blunt, it might more
truely be said, that hée did rather slay them, then trimme
or dresse them. Such as garded the temple of the God-
desse Bellona, hée caused their right armes to be thrust out
of ioynte: alledging, that since they painted the Goddesse
with a broken arme, her priestes ought not to haue their
armes whole and sound. The Romanes painted their
Goddesse Isis with naked brestes: and Commodus on a
day visiting that temple, and beholding the image of Isis,
painted with brestes discouered: hée caused the brestes of
the priests to be scrat with combs of yron in his presence,
affirming that it were vniuste for their Goddesse to haue
naked brestes, and they to hold their entrailes hidden.

Commodus commaunded all men to call him Hercules,
which, to the end hée would resemble, hée made a coate of
Lions skinnes, and toke in hand an huge clubb, wherwith
hée wente day and night killing men, breaking dores, and
ouerthrowing pillers, with such other vanities: in so much
that a fierce cruell Lion would not haue done so great
hurtes, as Commodus committed as a Lion, but coun-
terfect. With many other vaine and wicked déedes vn-
worthie to be written.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ A discourse of the prouinces that rebelled in his reigne, and the prodigies of his death.

There rebelled against the Romane Empire, in the reigne of Commodus, the Mauritanes, the Datians, the Sarmatians, and the Germaines, all which were onely

come by the Romane capiteines: for that Commodus did rather imploy his valiauntnesse in vices, then in resisting enimies. Hée was not onely in his woordes and workes, vaine and friuolous, but also in his letters which hée wrote for the Empire: for that many times being aduertised frō countries and prouinces, of causes of great importance, he would answeare them with matters of vanitie: and sometimes would sende an whole sheete of paper sealed and firmed, conteyning onely one Latine woord, that is to say, Vale. Notwithstanding the dayes of his reigne were the most vnfortunate dayes, yet would hee nedes commaund them to be termed ỹ golden world. Most heynous offences hée would pardon for monie: if any person being absent were condemned to die, hée would finde out some other of his age and name, to be executed for his offence: affirming that since he did resemble him in age and name, hée should not varie in the maner of his death: in such wise, that this tyrant did kill innocents for the wicked, and let offenders escape for monie. If any man had an enimie of whom he would take vengeaunce, hée neded no other meane to performe the same, but to bargaine with Commodus for a summe of monie, which being agreed, he neuer wanted occasion to rid him of his life. At all the vile and filthie deeds which Commodus committed, he was not greeued, but delighted in the publication thereof: in so much that he was not onely euil, but also boasted himselfe to be euill: for that he entred so great follie or madnes, that all thinges which hée either did, or said, whether allowed or misliked of himselfe or all other men, expressely hee commaunded them to
" be written, in the registre Capitoline. On a certeine time
" he determined to burne ỹ whole citie of Rome: and being
" prest to giue fire to many parts, Letus a Consul came vnto
" him, and said vnto him so many things, and put him in so
" great feare of the hazard of his life, that he ceased that day
" to execute so desperate a déed: and being demaunded, why
" hée would burne his mother Rome, aunswered: that he
" would not burne Rome, but his Commodian Colonell:

because

because at that time it was named Rome. These prodigies
following did precede his death. There came out of his
house certeine little birds, of the fashion and colour of tur-
tles: which were neuer seene either in Rome, or in any the
confines of Italie, and remained iij. dayes vppon his house,
neither flying or remouing to any other house: and their
note and songe which they vsed, did rather giue motion of
weeping, then of mirth. Soudeinly the ports of Ianus did
open, the copper Image of the god Mercurie was seene to
sweat, the Image of Hercules without approch of any per-
son was seene to moue, and vppon his chamber where hee
slept the shrich owle nightly ceased not to houle. Commo-
dus cõsidering these causes, departed to remaine at mount
Celius: affirming that he was feared by night, & might not
sleepe. On the next day, being demaunded for the celebrati-
on of certeine feastes & games, which were to be done be-
fore the gates of his Palace, what garmentes his guard
should weare, hee aunswered and commaunded them to be
clad with hooded capes for the raine, a garment much vsed
in Rome for mourners: in such wise that on the other day
hee was in such maner accompanied, that it seemed rather
they wente to honour his obsequies, then to celebrate or
magnifie his feastes.

CHAP. XIIII.

¶ Howe Commodus was slaine by the deuice and counsel of his Courtisane Martia.

THe time approching, wherein the follies and wicked-
nesses of the Emperour Commodus should finish, and
the sorrowfull Rome obteine libertie from the seruitude
of so cruell a tyrant: the occasion both of the one and the o-
ther was after this maner.

" The first day of the moneth of January, the Romanes did
" celebrate the feast of the God Ianus: on which day Com-
" modus determined to shewe himselfe in the habite, not of
" an Emperour, but of a sword player: whereof Martia his
" cõcubine being aduertised, with great instãce did humblie
" pray him, and with many teares no lesse requeſt and bée-
" seech him, that it might please him to take some other or-
" der, both to anoyde the perill that might happen vnto his
" person, as also the blemishe vnto his authoritie. This
" Martia was so loued and so tenderly cherished and honou-
" red of the Emperour Commodus, that notwithstanding
" shée did serue him as a concubine; yet shée brought to passe
" that all men did serue her as Empresse. To restraine Cõ-
" modus from that feast in the shewe and forme of a sword-
" player, neither were the abundant teares powred forth of
" Martia sufficient, either her humble suite so instantly re-
" quested, either the feare and hazard of his person so flatly
" informed, either the amorous intisementes so exactly per-
" formed, remoue his purpose: the which Martia considering,
" forgat not to requeſt others to be assistant in that suite: for
" as afterwardes shée reported, her heart did giue her, that
" Commodus that day should passe great perill. At that
" time Letus was his Chamberlaine, and Electus Capiteine
" of his guard, whoe were priuate and in great fauour with
" the Emperour Commodus, & friendes vnto Martia: these
" both shée requested to be humble furtherers in her former
" suite. But Commodus was so obstinate, and determined
" to celebrate that feast of Ianus, in forme of a fencer: that he
" was not onely vnwilling to heare them, but also grew to
" be offended with them. On the eues eue of the great feast
" of the God Ianus, Commodus cõmaunded the Capiteines
" of the sword players, to prepare him the armes & ensignes
" of a sword player: for that shée would celebrate those feasts
" not as an Emperour, but as a sword player. This done
" and prouided, Commodus cõmaunded Letus and Electus
" to depart to their lodging, to the end he might repose: and
" seeing himselfe alone in his chamber inclosed with dores

shut,

shut, he toke paper and incke, and did write with his owne handes, the names of all such persons which he determined on the next day should be slaine with the sword players: for his meaning was not principally to adorne those feastes and to honour them, but to dispatch many men of their liues. This memorial being made, of al such persons as the nexte day shoulde be slaine: partely of excesse, and partely of wearinesse in writinge, he was taken with deade sleape: laying his memoriall vnder his pillowe, not doubting that any person should encounter therewith. Commodus had in his chamber a little boye sufficiently faire, named Pugius, whome he did loue and fauour aboue all the rest, not for his seruice, but for delight he had of him in bedde. As Pugius was but childishe, and in so greate fauour, comming and going alwayes into Commodus chamber, fortune would, or to say better, God so ordayned, that he shoulde take that paper in hande wherein were contained the names of al such as were appointed to the slaughter: and came forth vnto the lodging, where Martia receiued him to play, according vnto the custome vsed with children: and finding the paper in his handes, suspecting it to be some writinge of importance, toke the childe into her armes, imbracinge, kissinge, and dallying with the childe Pugius, and giuing him another iuell wherewith to play, toke the paper into her hands, without all suspicion to finde that, which therein was conteined. Martia coulde both write and reade, and vnderstoode ỹ Græke, and spake the Latine toung, and presently begane to reade the contents thereof, written by Commodus his owne handes: wherein shee founde firste her owne proper name, as appointed amongst the reste to be slaine: the seconde was the chamberlaine Letus, the thirde the captaine Electus, and so consequentely the most auncient, wealthy, & the most noble personages of Rome. Martia being astonnied and terrified to find what she foũd in that libell, began to sobbe and wæpe: and saying with her selfe: what is this? may it be, that I am Martia that

reade this writing, and shalbe executed to morrowe? Oh Commodus, ioy & take no care: for whereas thou hadst thought to haue done vengeaunce vppon thine enimies: this daye, they shal be reuenged of thee, in suche wise, as men shall praise it, and the Gods allowe it: that in thy rigorous chastisements, all tyraunts shall obteine and recouer both warning and example. If thou euer in all thy life, didest committ or perfourme any good deede, it hath beene to place mee amongst suche persones as thou hast appointed to be slaine to morowe: for that shee deserueth woste iustly to dye, that abandoneth her conuersation vnto so vile a person. Since the Gods haue so permitted, and my good fortune woulde, that this matter should be discouered, full contrarie to thy purpose, it shall haue succesſe: because thou thoughtest to haue slaine mee, and all other vertuous, noble, and most wealthie of the Empire: but the case shall be thus: that this daye thou shalt see the ende of thy wicked life, and wee all shall beholde our mother Rome set at libertie.

" These and suche other wordes being spoken, shee sent " for Letus and Electus, to whome in greate secretie, shee " shewed this writing: and when they considered, that on " the nert daye they shoulde all be slaine, they forgate not " to determine to kill Commodus that night: but hardely might agree vppon the deuice and manner of his " death.

" It was the euen of the feast of Ianus, and also a great " parte of the daye alreadie past, and not as yet determined " with what manner of death they shoulde finishe Com- " modus his life: for that, if they shoulde kill him on the " soudeine, he might defende him selfe, and the case discou- " red: and if their affaires were deferred, on the nert daye " they were iudged to dye: but finally, they concluded to " dispatche him with poison, offered by the hands of Martia. " The manner was thus.

" Martia persuaded Commodus that night to bathe " him selfe, and comming from the bathe, Martia bare

" him

him in hande that he was pale and colourlesse, and prayed him to drinke and to eate a morsell, and in that same whiche shée gaue him in a colation to eate, in the same shée ministred poison for him to dye.

Not long after this surfeting dyet, his head began to ake: and being counselled by Martia to take his bedde, shée prouided to sende foorth all persones that might sœme either to hinder his rest, or her determined purpose. He had reposed little more then an houre, when the poison began to come to his heart, and taking occasion with his fingers to cast, Martia, Letus, & Electus, doubting that by vomite he might throwe foorth the poison, and so they by matter committed might iustly be put to death, beganne to feare and dismaye in their enterprise. But Martia more like a man then a woman, perceiuing her complaintes to be daunted with feare, brought in Narcissus, a beardlesse and shamelesse young man, fleshed in murthers: to whome shée promised a greate summe of money, who entring the chamber finished the murther. This was the ende of the vnchast and filthie life of Commodus, whose life and death may yealde vnto all Princes bothe example and terrour: for, notwithstanding the wicked are forborne for a time, yet Gods iustice doth not permitte them to escape vnpunished.

(.*.)

The

The life of the Emperour Pertinax, compiled by ſyr Anthonie of Gueuara, Biſhop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, & counſeller vnto the Emperour Charles the fifth.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the linage and countrie of the Emperour Pertinax.

THE emperour Publius Pertinax was borne in the prouince of Apennia in a certeine place named Martos, in the ſecond yere of the Empire of Traiane: and his father was named Lineotinus, a man that liued by his owne proper ſweate and trauaile. Pertinax beeing a ſtripling, ſerued his father with the carriage of wood vpõ an aſſe, to be ſolde at the towne, who vſed to ſell ſo deere, rontentious, and pinching, that if they gaue him not his firſt demaunde, he did rather leaue his wood vnſolde, then abate one blanke of his price. And being noted of all men, and but for a packeman, it proceeded thereof to be named Pertinax, that is to ſay, contentious: for that before time he was named Publius. Pertinax perceiuing that he was now called, not Publius, but Pertinax, contentious and packman, he parted from his countrie in a greate chafe, and ſhamed, giuing him ſelfe to write and read: whiche when he had learned, he traueiled to atteine the Greeke & Latine tounges, which alſo he obteined: in ſuch wiſe, that he became more handſome in ſcience, then in ſelling of wood. Nowe when Pertinax perceiued him ſelfe to be inſtructed bothe in the Greeke and Latine tounges, he gaue him ſelfe vnto the warres, to learne the arte of warre-

fare,

fare, perceiuing that from his studie there procéded much traueile, and no profit: and that his life diminished, and his goods nothing increased. In those dayes the Romaines helde warres with the Assyrians, against whome the Consul Lolianus was capteine, where Pertinax being repaired, made couenant with a capteine of Rome to serue him for his prouision, in the condition of a cater: who vsing his seruice in that office verie faithfully, and in skirmishe and encounter with the enimie no lesse valiantly, his maister remoued from his saide office, and aduaunced him to the state of a Souldiour. Not long after that Pertinax had serued in the condition of a souldiour, but he was raised to an office of more honour and credite, which in these dayes, is termed Sergeant of the bande, that is to wéete, to giue order vnto the souldiours, to sette in arraye. Pertinax euery daye recouered fame in the warres, and his valiantnesse and noble minde was notorious vnto all men in the campe. It chaunced at the furious encounter of the enimie, the capteine of his bande to be slaine: whereof the Consul Lolianus commaunded him to take the charge, wherein he did so behaue him self, that not long after, he did not onely with bloud, reuenge the bloud of his capteine, but also brought to passe, to be loued of the Romaines, and feared of the enimies. The warres of Assyria being finished, Pertinax remained as preto? thereof, and as he was feared of the Assyrians in the time of warre: so was he afterwardes beloued in time of peace: for if in times past he had bëne rigorous, as vnto enimies: so was he in processe without all comparison, more pittifull vnto offenders. In the seconde yeare of the Empire of ỹ good Marcus Aurelius, the king of Parthians rebelled against the Romanes, & amongst other Capteines that were called vnto that conquest, was Pertinax the Preto? of Assyria: in which warres, so straight and sound frindship was planted betwixt Marcus Aurelius and Pertinax, that from thencefo?th they dealte not as maister and seruaunt, but as father and sonne: because no matter

ter, were it of moste greate importance whiche Marcus Aurelius commaunded, that Pertinax performed not, and exactly did not accomplishe: either any counsell ministred by Pertinax vnto Marcus Aurelius, vnto whiche he yealded not. In those Parthian warres, Pertinax proued so prouident in perils, so doughtie in hazardes, so wise in counsell, so venturous in sallies, and so valiant in battaile, that by reporte of the enimies and iudgement of the armies, he onely deserued more glorie then all the rest. The warres of Asia being finished, the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sente him as Prætor vnto the prouince of great Britaine, which nowe is called Englande.

Two yeares after he arriued into Britaine, warre was raised against the Germaines, vnto which warres Pertinax was also called, and there had the charge of the Eagle, which was to be bearer of the royall standarde, and was called the Eagle, because the Romanes had alwayes in that speciall standard an Eagle brauely painted.

" Pertinax being resident in the warres of Germanie,
" his owne mother from Rome, came to visite him, for that
" tenne yeres had passed in whiche shée had not séene him:
" and not tenne dayes after shée had inioyed the sight of her
" desired sonne, shée dyed and passed out of this worlde. Un-
" to whom Pertinax erected so solemne and sumptuous ob-
" sequies, and so generous a sepulchre, whereof was diui-
" ned that shée was the mother of some Emperour to come,
" and that the Empire should fall into his handes. The affaires of Germanie being settled, the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sent his commaundement vnto Pertinax, to passe into Datia, which nowe is named Denmarke: and did assigne him fiftie thousande sextercies for his stipend, whiche may amount to fiue thousande Ducates of our money: whereat manye did enuie, no lesse for the greate summes of money which he gaue him, then for the honourable gouernement that he committed vnto him.

Nowe

Nowe Pertinax being growen verie riche, and notified bothe valiant, hardie, and in greate estimation, hee was therewithall envied of manie: which hatred borne him by his contemporants and companions in the warrs, they discovered by their extreme publishing his negligences, darkening and infæbling his heroicall actes.

It is an auncient custome in the malice of man, to holde nothing for well done, but that which we loue, although it be euil: and to esteeme nothinge for euill, but that which we hate, although it be right perfect. There came from Datia certeine souldiours to Rome, whiche gaue forth so peruerse and foule information againste Pertinax, that presently the Emperour did suspende his office, and discharged him of his stipende, and that he shoulde serue one whole yeare at his owne proper costes in Illyria.

This imperiall commaundement being notified vnto Pertinax, presently with greate patience he obeyed, and departed vnto Illyria to performe his banishement with much constancie: and they saye, that he saide these words at his departing.

I am not grieued for the honour whereof they haue depriued mee, either for the stipende which they haue taken from mee, either of this exile whiche they haue sent mee: but it grieueth mee that this commaundement shuld proceede from so good a Prince, and I not hearde, either he well informed: because mine innocencie being knowen (as shortly it shalbe knowen) the Emperour, my Lord, shalbe noted of all men, as a Prince of light beliefe, and I shall obteine the credite and fame of a gentleman, bothe sincere and patient.

And as Pertinax said, so it succeded, which is to wæte: the Senate commaunding inquisition to be made, and finding Pertinax frée and cleare from all matters, wherof he was accused, and manye thinges wherefore to be commended, he was by publique sentence restored vnto his honour, & to his aduersaries was giuen the paine that

he

he did and shoulde haue suffered: although, notwithstanding in short time after, by his owne sute, they were pardoned, because Pertinax naturally was pittifull, and not giuen to reuenge.

CHAP. II.

¶ Of the variable fortune that Pertinax did passe before he obteined the Empire.

THE emperour Marcus Aurelius helde Pertinax in reputation of a man both vertuous, valiant, silent, of a noble minde, and also fortunate: but after he had by false report exiled him, he helde him both for wise, and of great patience, considering howe mildly he endured so vniust banishment, and afterwardes howe friendly he sued for his aduersaries. In recompence of the iniurie whiche Marcus Aurelius the Emperour had done vnto Pertinax, he made him Pretor of Datia, and sent him ioyntly with his prouision, the ensigne, and did also constitute him capteine of the first legion: that is to saye, to haue the vauntgarde of the armie, which in the warres is a matter of moste trust, and also of honour: in suche wise, that where as his enimies had thought moste to haue confounded him, from thence he receiued occasion to be most aduaunced. The prouince of Noricus and Retius rebelled against the Romaines: against whome the armies of Illyria were sent, vnto whome they gaue aduertisement that they were readie to be reduced vnto the seruice of the Romaine Empire, if the Pretor that presently did gouerne them were remoued, and in his place they might obteine Pertinax for their Protector: saying and affirming, that they rebelled not, to retire from the subiection of Rome: but because their officers did oppresse them with cruell dealing. Great ioye had the Emperour Marcus Aurelius when he vnderstood those prouinces to be reduced vnto his ser-

seruice: but much more did he reioyce, when he was aduertised, howe instantly they craued Pertinax for the gouernement of that countrie: vnto whome presently he sent, both crauing and commaunding: and to the ende that Pertinax shoulde accept his suite, and condescende vnto his commaundement, he sent him the ensigne and liuerie of Consulship. Many dayes after that these matters had passed, the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sent for Pertinax, which had béene absent sixtéene yeares, and as he was in martial affaires, famous, so generally they came foorth into the stréetes of Rome to beholde him, as it had béene some monster, brought from the desertes of Aegypt: and being arriued at Rome, he was conducted by the Emperour Marcus Aurelius vnto the Senate: and after all sortes and fashions was praised and honoured as an assured friende doeth vse to praise and honour his approued friende, which was great nouelti e in Rome: that is to saye, for one Prince to speake for another in the Senate: for vnto such like Capteines as vnto Pertinax, they did onely heare what they would saye, but vsed not to aunswere any one worde within the Senate. Presently in the Kalendes of January next ensuing, Pertinax was created Consul: which the Emperour wished the Senate had not performed, to the ende he woulde haue made him Pretor principall, because he estéemed him to be in possession of greate wisedome, for gouernement of matters of the common wealth, and very vpright to administer iustice. The people inhabitant neare vnto Danubie, did write vnto the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, howe they were robbed, lost, and euil gouerned: and that if Pertinax were not sent to gouerne that prouince, er long the whole countrie would rebell: which Marcus Aurelius vnderstanding, framed and forced him to returne vnto Danubie: and to the same ende he gaue him power and stipende so accomplished, that he reserued vnto him selfe but onely the name of Emperour his Lord.

One yere after that Pertinax had gouerned Danubie,

the Senate sent him newe prouision for the gouernement of Datia, by the occasion of the death of Cassius: and that also he should vse the residence of the Pretor of Panonia: in suche wise, that there was no matter, either in the inferiour or higher Almaine, that by the handes of Pertinax was not gouerned and prouided. Two yeares after the death of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, Pertinax was remoued from the gouernement of Germanie, and assigned vnto Syria: the gouernement whereof was the best, the most honourable, and also the moste profitable that was giuen by the Romanes: for that it was not bestowed, but vppon the moste auncient Consul, or the moste valiant capteine, or the moste graue Senatour, or the ambassadour that best had perfourmed his charge. All the life of the good Emperour Marcus Aurelius, Pertinax in all his offices was founde to be verie wise, verie iust, seuere, and no lesse sincere: but after the good Emperour was dead, he grewe negligent, and also was noted with the blemishe of a nigarde, and couetousnesse, because from thencefoorth, he did rather imploye his forces to gather richesse, then to gouerne the common wealth. Of this notable example it may be inferred, of that which euerye day we see to chaunce: which is, that good Princes, of euil men make good seruauntes, and euil Princes of good men, make euil seruauntes: for that many times, notwithstanding the seruaunt naturally be euil, he doth endeuour and enforce him selfe to be good, in respect of his maister which is good: and so by the contrarie, if the Prince be euil, the seruaunt strayeth vnto euill, although of his owne nature he be good.

Nowe Commodus being Emperour in Rome, when Pertinax bribed, and gathered money in Asia, againste whome certeine people did rise and mutine, exclaming that he helde them oppressed and robbed, he was constrained thereby to retyre vnto Rome, to escape their pretented practises, to dispatche him of his life: nothing displeasant vnto Commodus, to the ende he might inherite

herite his goods.

Pertinax being come to Rome, and the tyraunt Perennius in those dayes gouerning the Empire, and commaunding Commodus, gaue him verie euill entertaynement, and worse conuersation: not for that Pertinax had so deserued, but the rather to giue him occasion to departe from Rome: for that being (as he was) verie wise, and of great iudgement, valiant, riche, and also auncient: he doubted to bée depriued by Pertinax from the fauour of Commodus.

Pertinax beholding the follies of Commodus, the tyrannies of Perennius, the losse and spoyle of the common wealth of Rome: aduised to departe from thence, and to goe vnto the countrie of Liguria, separating him selfe to liue in a poore village, where in times past, his father had liued and kepte shoppe: and buying that poore dwelling, where his father had solde oyle, fishe, wine, bread, and other victualls, buylt in the compasse thereof a stately buylding, permitting the olde to remaine in the midest without any addition or diminishing thereof. Pertinax exceedingly delighted to beholde that countrie, wherein he had passed his life being but a childe, and from whence he had departed so abiect, and nowe returned with suche wealth and credite.

And being aduertised of the foale of the Asse, whereon he had vsed to carrie wood, to be aliue, he bought it, and did so vse & fede it, as it had bene some auncient seruaunt of great deseruing. He there erected manye and solemne buyldinges, bought great and many purchases, gaue great summes of money vnto his kinred, old friends, and acquaintaunce: and did so ioye to see him selfe so riche, where he had bene so poore, and to obteine so great quietnesse, after so muche trauaile: that he saide, and wrote vnto his friendes, that if Princes had throughly tasted and knowen the relishe of reposed rest: of them selues, and of their owne proper will, they would abandon their Empires.

Pertinax being setled in quietnesse, Commodus sent his commaundement, that he shoulde departe into Britaine to execute the office of Prætor: which he obeyed, more for feare then of good will, and presently began to reforme the armies: whiche were in robberies verie absolute, and of life no lesse dissolute. And on a time a certeine mutinous legion made commotion, not because they had contention amongest them selues, but early to awake Pertinax, to violate his life. The matter fell out after this manner, that Pertinax found him selfe in so great perill, that all men thought he had bene slaine: yet amongst the dead he escaped alive, notwithstanding cruelly wounded. After these matters were pacified, and Pertinax cured of his woundes, hee so seriously chasticed that treason which they had conspired against him, that he ministred matter to murmur at Rome, and to bewaile in Britaine. The Senate being aduertised, what had passed betwixt the armie and Pertinax, sent a suspense of, and for his prætorian office, and gaue him charge of prouision for victuals and munition, whiche he woulde not accept, but sued for his discharge to departe: for that the armies helde him extreme and cruell, and he of the armies had greate doubt and suspicion. Pertinax being arriued at Rome, founde that Perennius the tyraunt was nowe dead: and Pertinax being a man of authoritie and gravitie, a small time fell into the fauour of Commodus, vnto whome he commended the prefecture or gouernement of the citie of Rome: and succeeding Fusianus whoe vsed his office with great crueltie, Pertinax obteined greate good liking of all the people, who perfourmed his charge with no lesse mildnesse and pietie.

Commodus not contented that Pertinax had recouered so greate fauour in the common wealth, and finding no occasion either to kill or banishe him, aduised to discouer his euill will whiche he did beare him, bothe in worde and deede, that of him selfe he would seeke occasion to departe frō Rome: who finding apt & sure meanes

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to renounce his office, retired vnto his owne proper house and countrie, supposing neuer more to haue béene remoued from thence all the dayes of his life: partely, for that he perceiued howe Commodus sought occasions to take away his life: and partly moued of olde age, to repose the remnant of his dayes.

CHAP. III.

What was saide, and what he aunswered vnto those persons, that offered him the Empire.

After that Martia, Letus, Electus, and Narcissus had slaine the Emperour Commodus, a greate parte of the night being passed, and all persons in ỹ palace being couched vnder the gouernement of profound slæpe, Martia and her companions toke the carkase of Commodus, and wrapt it in an olde Heron, wherein the slaues did beare out the ordure of the stable: giuing them to vnderstande, that it was a certeine vessel, with a charge also to carrie it forth. After the bodie was remoued out of the courte, they laide it into a carre, and conueyed it into a certeine village named Aristro where Commodus did vse to bathe and solace: but on the next daye his death being published, the Romanes pursued, and although he were dead, they cutt off his head, and trailed his bodie throughout all the strætes of Rome. Martia, Letus, and Electus, considering they had slaine Commodus, and bestowed his carkase at their pleasure, aduised amongest them selues to sæke out, and to name an Emperour before daye shoulde come vppon them: to the ende the Empire should haue an owner, as also to haue defence vnder his protection: and so it came to passe, when the death of the one was manifested, the election of the other was published.

the matter hapned after this manner: Letus and Electus talkinge with them, certeine of their especiall frindes departed streight vnto the house of Pertinax, knocking at the gate to haue it opened with greate haste: one of the sonnes of Pertinax beholding them to come armed, at such an hour, and with such hast, was taken with so great feare, that when he woulde haue made repoꝛte thereof vnto his father, terrour and trembling woulde not sufer him to speake.

At the instant that Pertinax vnderstood how Letus and Electus were come with armed men, he leapt from his bedde and commaunded his gates with greate spede to be opened, which proceeded of a noble and a valiaunt minde, foꝛ that he helde it foꝛ moste certaine, that foꝛ as much as they were both so pꝛiuate with Commodus, who did beare him so moꝛtall hatred, and comming vnto his house at suche an houre, might be to no other end then to take away his life. And all the time whileſt these matters did passe betwixt the one and the other parte, Pertinax was neither troubled oꝛ altered: but after the maner of a man determined to die, saide vnto Letus and Electus these wooꝛdes.

I do well vnderstande that the Emperour Commodus, my Lord, hath sente to kill me, whereof I doe not meruel: but wonder it is, that so long he sufered me to liue: becauſe of all the olde seruants that were bred with his father Marcus Aurelius I onelie am aliue, a small remnant of all the reſte whiche hee hath slaine. I may not with reason complaine me, ỹ Commodus in my quietneſſe and securitie doth send to put me to death, since certaine dayes past, I haue attẽded this laſt day & houre: for that abhorring, as I did abhorre his wicked life, I was moſte sure hee would

woulde procure my death. It grieueth me not to die, but for that I die before I ſee my countrie deliuered from the handes of ſo cruell a tyrant: for I ſweare vnto you by the immortall Godds, that I neuer wiſhed anie thinge rather vnto my ſelfe, either my poſteritie, then that it might pleaſe them, before they woulde take away my life I might beholde my mother Rome ſet at libertie. I haue been a right perfect and ſincere Romaine, and zealous for the common wealth of my countrie, and doe hope in the immortall Godds, that I ſhall obteine that in their preſence whiche they haue denyed mee in their abſence, before whome, his malice and mine innocencie ſhalbe examined. You Letus, and Electus, ſeruauntes, friendes, and fauoured with Commodus, doe that whiche he hath commaunded you, and diſpatche mee out of this tedious and miſerable worlde: for in the ende to dye with the ſwoorde, or to dye with an ague, all is but death.

Letus and Electus were aſtonnied to beholde the conſtancie that Pertinax had, and to conſider the excellent wordes whiche he ſaide: whereunto they made aunſwere.

Oh, howe ſecrete are the iudgementes of God, and howe variable are the thoughtes of menne. This wee ſaye vnto thee Pertinax, becauſe thou thinkeſt that wee are come to take awaye thy life: and wee are not come, but to the ende thou ſhouldeſt giue vs life, and take wretched Rome

vnder thy defence.

Wee may not ſpeake or aduertiſe thee at large, for want of time, the breake of day being at hande: but the caſe is thus, that the tyrante Commodus is deade, the cauſe thereof proceeded, for that he had determined (as was founde in memoriall written with his owne handes) this day to haue ſlaine vs all: and as by a certaine manner neuer harde of, the matter was diſcouered, we determined to preſerue our own liues, and giue an ende to his tyrannies. In this deed which we haue done, we neither thinke to haue offended the Gods, or committed treaſon: for that the life of this tyrant was odious vnto the Gods, and daungerous vnto men. It was nowe high time that ſome man ſhoulde giue an ende vnto his life, that had taken away the life of ſo many good men. We, as we were in his fauour, had perfect intelligẽce, whom he helde for friends, or enimies: and alſo we knowe right certeinely, that if thou Pertinax be now aliue, it is not, that he ſo wiſhed it, or that he procured not to kil thee, but the Gods gaue him no place, but haue reſerued thee to the ende thou ſhouldeſt deliuer Rome, and reſtore the common wealth.

No man knoweth vnto this houre that Cõmodus is dead, but Martia and we that haue ſlaine him: and as we haue laide our handes vpon him to finiſhe his dayes, ſo haue we fixed our eyes vpon thee to make thee Emperour.

And beleeue vs, Pertinax, that if we coulde haue made choice of any better then thy ſelfe, we woulde haue choſen better: becauſe they are ſo many and ſo greate euills which haue beene committed by this tyrant, that they may not be amended or repayred,

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but by the hands of some most vertuous prince. That which hath moued vs to elect and giue thee this Empire, is, because thou art auncient, wise, valiaunt, vertuous, riche, and of great experience, aboue all the rest loued & desired of all the people: for that Prince whiche is not acceptable vnto his people, he shal of many be disobeyed, & of many much lesse duely esteemed.

These woordes being noted of Pertinax, determinatly did thincke them to be spoken fainedly and with collusion, and thereto aunsweared. Oh Letus and thou Electus, you ought to be satisfied, simply to accomplish the vniust commaundement of Commodus, without derision of these my poore auncient yeres, ý is to say, first gilefully to flatter me and afterwards to kill mée. As I haue said, performe that which ye haue to doe, which the soner ye shall accomplish, the greater ioy shal ye yéeld vnto Commodus, and deliuer me of griefe. I well know that Commodus now slæpeth not, but carefully abideth your returne, for at this present he attẽdeth no better newes, then the report, that ye haue giuen an end vnto my wretched life. Letus and Electus considering that Pertinax continued doubtful and suspicious, began to say and replie: there is so small time for so great affaires as wée haue to do, that there resteth no time to contend vpon our ambassage and thy suspicion: and because thou shalt sée the truthe of that which we haue said, and not as thou supposest, take and reade this memoriall, written with Commodus his owne hand, and there shalt thou sée, how great reason wée had to kill him this night, since to morrow he ment to haue slaine vs all. Pertinax receiuing the memorial into his hands, and knowing it to be Commodus writing, found himselfe placed in the fourth degrée, which is to witt, that on the morrowe Commodus would haue killed Martia, Letus, Electus and Pertinax: & so by degrées, many other Senators & Consuls of Rome. Pertinax hauing read ý memoriall, stayed as one astonied

againe demaunding if Commodus were dead in déede: they aduouched no lesse, and thoroughly affirmed the same: whereuppon hee beganne most pitiously to wæpe: saying, that he wept not for the death of Commodus, but because the memorie of the good Marcus Aurelius in him was finished. And lifting his eyes vp to heauen, said: Oh vnfortunate Marcus Aurelius, Oh vnfortunate Marcus Aurelius, Oh infortunate Marcus Aurelius: (thræe times exclaming him to be vnfortunate and vnhappie) because thou wast vnfortunate in thy wife, whiche thou possessedst: in thy daughters which thou nourishedst, & in thy sonnes which thou begattedst.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ A certeine notable speach vttered by Letus vnto the armie, in the fauour of Pertinax.

After that Pertinax had bewayled the death of Commodus, not for his owne condition, but for that he had béene the sonne of the good Marcus Aurelius, hée said vnto Letus & Electus, that he would not by any meane receiue the Empire, if the Senate did not commaund it, and the armie consent vnto it: because to hold the Empire safe and established, and not to enter the same as a tyrant: vnto the Senate, it apperteyned to vse their election, and the armie their confirmation. Letus made offer to finishe all that which Pertinax demaunded: that is to say, the Senate should elect and chose him, & the armie confirme and allow their election: and the hope that he had to obteine the same was, that hée had amongest them many friends and kinsefolke: and the ioy that all would receiue vppon the newes of his death. Letus departing to talke with the Capteines and leaders of the armie, made vnto them a compendious speach after this manner.

His

His Oration to the assemblie.

THAT which now I meane to say (right excellent Princes, and my martial companions) will be verie straunge vnto your hearing, although not farre distant from your desires: because of many things whiche we desire, the least and fewest parts thereof we do obteine. Neither are the Gods so liberall to giue vs al that we desire, either so niggard to denie vs all that we craue: and this they do, because we shal acknowledge them to be good, for that which they giue vs: and cofesse our selues to be euill for that which they denie vs. The good and vertuous be not onely knowen, in the good woorkes which they doe, but also in their good desires which they haue: because the euill and wicked, if they durst, would neuer cease to commit mischiefe: and the vertuous if they might would neuer growe cold in doing vertuous acts. The Gods neuer ioyntly accomplished the desires of so many, as this day they haue accomplished all your desires: for being (as you are) noble, generous, valiaunt, true, and no counterfect Romanes: it is not to be thought that ye should wish or desire, but the libertie of our mother Rome, and the reformation of our auncient common wealthe.

Ye haue all seene what the Emperour Commodus hath beene, whiche is to witt, howe large in commaundement, howe cruell in killing, howe careless in gouernment, & how filthie of life: through which cause

cauſe, we not onely held our houſes as conſumed & loſt, and our perſons in perill, but alſo were defamed throughout all ſtraunge nations. The Prince that is ouer youthly, fooliſh, abſolute or diſſolute, looſeth his people, and defameth his kingdome. Since ye haue ſeene the euils and cruelties which hee hath done, I would haue you ſee, heare, & vnderſtād, what he mēt to doe: for as it ſeemeth by this memoriall written with his owne hand, hee had a will to haue ſlaine all perſons within the Empire: and if hee might haue brought it to paſſe, it is credible, he would haue cut the throtes of ſo many as be in this world. It was neuer ſeene or heard off in this world, of any tyraunte that hath beene of the maner and condition of Commodus: for that naturally he delighted in loſſe of friends, and did glorie to haue enimies. Commodus your Emperour is now dead, & if I be not deceiued, I ſuppoſe he dieth with conformitie of the whole Empire: becauſe there is nothing more certaine, then that hee which liueth to the preiudice of all men, ſhould die to the conformitie of all men. In as much as the Gods haue taken in good part to deliuer vs from the ſeruitude of this tyrant, it is neceſſary that another Emperour be prouided and choſen, and this election may indure no delay, but muſt be diſpatched at this inſtāt: becauſe otherwiſe, as the great dignitie of the empire, is a thing that many deſire, & few deſerue: ſo it might happen that at the time wee would beſtowe the ſame vppon ſome vertuous man, it might be vſurped by ſome ſtraunge tyrant. If vnto euery man that is here preſent, we ſhould haue due reſpect, according to their deſeruing: I ſweare by the immortall Gods, wee ſhould want Empires, and not Emperours: but conſi-

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dering the Empire is but one,& is not to be giuen but vnto one,in the end none shall obteine the same, but he vnto whome the Gods shall assigne,and the destinies permit. The prince that ye haue to electe,ought (in my iudgement) to be natiue of your countrie:because the prince that is not natiue but a straunger, he shall rather first finishe his dayes, then attaine to the loue of his common wealth. Ye haue also to elect & chuse an Emperour, that possesseth age & grauitie:for that it furthereth not a little the profit and reputation of the common wealth,to haue a beard on the face, & hoarie haires on the head. Also it is right necessarie in the Emperour which ye shal elect,that he be no foole, either a coward: but that he be wise, pregnant,noble minded, & of experience: because in naturall science, and long experience, the good gouernement of the whole common wealth doth consist.Manifesting my minde more clearely, I say againe vnto that which I haue said: that if my opinion might be taken in this case, we ought to determine and fixe our eyes vppon Publius Pertinax, in whome concurre all the conditions aforesaid: that is to say,naturalitie,age,grauitie, science, and experience: & that this is most true,there needeth no greater testimonie for the credite thereof, then that Commodus held him for his enimie. It is not to be thought, that the Gods in vaine, haue conserued the life of Pertinax vntil this day,Commodus procuring by a thousand meanes to put him to death: as it is most true,that of al the old seruaunts of his father by him slaine, onely Pertinax is reserued aliue. As wee haue all wel knowen that be here present,that Pertinax hath been the man most afflicted, banished, enuied,toyled,and persecuted,of al the men that now

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are aliue in this world: and surely it is a great argument, to thinke that for him, & for no other the Empire hath beene reserued: because the Gods do neuer preserue the life of any man amongest so many perils, but afterwards greatly they aduaunce him. Wee ought all to hold it for great good hap, and greatly to gratifie the gods in respecte of such and so many as haue bin slaine in our common wealth, that we finde such a prince for our mother Rome, whom they shal not aduenture to contemne, because of his grauitie: neither be daũted with feare, for that he is noble minded: either noted of simplicitie, in as much, as hee is sapient: neither accused of vice, for that he is vertuous: either reproued of feeblenes, because he is reposed: finally, no man may deceiue him in words, in so much as he hath experience of all thinges. O most excellent princes and my commilitants, I will say no more vnto you, but that, if ye may persuade your selues to the election of Pertinax, ye shall not onely yeeld a good Emperour vnto your Common wealth, but also euerie man shall obteine in him, a father for his familie: for as he hath bin a leader vnto vs all, so he cãnot deale with vs, but as with his children.

All the time that Letus was reasoning these matters vnto the armie, they stode all astonied and rapt: partly in hearing the memoriall, conteyning the treason that Commodus had ordeyned, & partly for the newes of his death: and also in considering how aptly & eloquently Letus had vsed his speach in opening the matter. Presently at the instant that Letus had finished his talke, the whole armie began to say & crclame: *Viuat viuat Pertinax Augustus*, whiche is to say, Long & many yeares may Pertinax liue our Romane Emperour. All the principal of the armie departed to

ted to visite Pertinax at his owne house, & found him not, but in the temple of victorie, and taking him vppon their shoulders they carried him about all Rome: and as it was then, as yet not throughly day, the townesmen were abashed to heare such newes: because not knowing that Commodus was dead, they heard that Pertinax was proclaimed Emperour. The Romanes afterwardes did sweare and affirme, that in long time past there was euer any newes diuulgate in Rome, that generally gaue so great ioy vnto all persons, partly for the newes of Cõmodus death, as also for that ỹ good old Pertinax was made Emperour.

CHAP. V.

¶ Of an Oration made by Pertinax in the Senate immediatly after he was elected Emperour.

VEry great was the ioy that was manifested throughout all Rome, because they had obteyned Pertinax for their Lord, and no lesse was the heauinesse that Pertinax discouered, to behold himselfe an Emperour: for he said, that this name or title of imperie or regiment, was the thing that euery man desired for himself, and in others did most abhorre. No signe of an Emperour would Pertinax cõsent to accompanie him, vntil he and the Senatours had seene, conferred, and saluted eche other, and all ioyntly being mounted vpon the height of the Capitol, where ỹ imperial cloth of estate was placed, Pertinax would by no meane sit downe in that imperial seat, but toke the Consul Glabriõ by the arme, and by strong hand would haue set him in the same, seriously affirming, that it apperteined much better vnto his deseruing. Glabrion was a Romane, in age very auncient, in cõdition very mild, in gouernment very wise, in life of great sinceritie, & in bloud much esteemed: for that he was descended by the right line of king Aeneas sonne vnto Anchises, and sonne in lawe vnto king Priamus,

and

and father to Aſchanius. When Glabrion perceiued Pertinax to perſiſt with ſo great inſtance to inueſt him with the Empire, he ſaid vnto him in the preſence of the whole Senate: the humble humilitie which thou ſhewest Pertinax in the want of merit of the Empire, the ſame maketh thée of deſeruing ſufficient of the Empire, vnto which election all wée of the Senate do conſent: not moued thereunto by the election of the armie, but to ſée thée make ſo ſmal accompt of thy ſelfe: in ſuch wiſe, that this thy refuſal yeldeth thy merit ſufficient. A great while was the whole Senat perſuading Pertinax to condeſcend to their requeſt, which is to wit, to accept the Empire: but his repugnance was ſo great, that in a manner by force they placed him in the chayre: and that which is more, the whole Senate perceiued, that he did nothing feynedly: for it was lamentable to heare the lamentation which hee made, and to ſée the abundance of teares which he ſhed. But afterwards, when hée was placed in the imperial chaire, Pertinax ſpake vnto the Senate after this maner.

His Oration to the Senate.

THAT which I will now ſpeake vnto you (fathers conſcript) the God Iupiter, in whoſe houſe now we ſtand, be my witnes, I wil not therin deceiue you: for this place being conſecrate vnto the gods (as it is) it ſhould be great ſacrilege, for men to aduenture to lye therein. For all weakneſſe which men commit, they may haue excuſe, except it be for lying: becauſe vnto other vices, humane weakenes doth inuite or intice vs: but to lye, we are not moued but with our owne proper malice. Fathers conſcript, ye ſee how Commodus your Emperour is dead, and the deſtinies haue brought to paſſe that I ſucceede him in the Empire: perchance, for as much as he did wiſhe mee euill, and his

his workes of my part not very well liked, it may be thought of you, that the manner of his death was first notified vnto mee, and his life cut off by my deuice: wherein throughly to satisfie you, I sweare and protest by the immortall gods, that of this fault I am not guiltie: becauſe I was ſo innocent thereof, that when they ſaid that Commodus was dead, at that inſtant I thought he had ſent to haue ſlaine mee. Notwithſtanding, that both he and we ſhal all die, I would not that ſo ſtraunge a death ſhould haue finiſhed his dayes: not becauſe Commodus did not deſerue the ſame, but for the great bond which our mother Rome doth owe vnto his father Marcus Aurelius: for it many times happeneth, that the errours of the children, be recompenced with the merittes of their fathers. I was ſeruant and aduaunced of the good Marcus Aurelius, which is the greateſt weale that the deſtinies might haue giuen me in this world, & I ſay it is to this end, becauſe it ſhould be great griefe vnto me, if in my preſence any thing ſhould be ſaid, either in my abſence any thing ſhould be done, againſt his ſonne Commodus, although he be now dead: for that in my heart, I finde my ſelfe much more bound to acknowledge the great goodnes which I receiued of my Lord Marcus Aurelius: then to reueng the iniuries that I ſuffered of his ſonne Commodus. Beleue mee (fathers cõſcript) that if ye ſhall do cõtrary vnto this which I haue ſaid, it may be, that obſeruing time wherin I ſhall find my ſelfe, it ſhalbe neceſſarie to diſſemble it, but I may not ceaſe greatly to feele it. The prouidence of the gods is farre different from the deuices of men, & that which moueth me to this ſpeach, is, that when I was a yong man, I much deſired the Empire, and might not at-

teine it: and now that I am old and do abhorre it, they force mee to take it: in ſuch wiſe, they giue vs that which we hate, and denie vs that which we ſeeke or craue. When I began to hold offices in the common wealth, I thought it moſt certeine, that it was no humaine matter, but a diuine dignitie, to be a Romane Emperour: but after I taſted of the trauells of commaundements, and of authoritie, and vnderſtoode the peril to reigne: I did clearely ſee that amongeſt all the trauels of men, to be an Emperour is the greateſt.

Neither merueile, either be eſcãdalized (O ye fathers conſcript) to ſee me ſo vntractable, and with ſo many teares to refuſe the Empire: for if I thought to vſe my ſelfe therein as a tyrant, I would not caſte it off, but would rather procure the ſame: but as my meaning is to liue & gouerne more to the profite of the common wealth, thẽ to the aduancement of mine owne houſe: reſpecting my ſmall ſtrength, the Empire is to mee, a great burthen. Being, as I was, moſt truly ſatiſfied with the acquaintance and conuerſation of the trauels of the Empire, there were no reaſon to think, I ſhould deſire the Empire: becauſe there is none ſo fooliſh, as the man, that with the hope of a remedie, would offer himſelfe vnto an hazard. Vnto this day I haue beene eſteemed in poſſeſſion of great wealth, but now that I am an Emperour, I am forced to become poore: for ỹ a prince, in reſpect of ſuch, with whõ he hath to deale and accompliſh, hath fewe thinges to giue, and hath a thouſand neceſſities that conſtreine him to bribe and robbe. Vntil this day I haue had ſome quietneſſe, but from henceforth I ſhalbe conſtreined to liue diſcontented: becauſe from the trauel and diſquietnes of the prince, peace and quietneſſe doeth proceede vnto the com-

mon wealth. The office of the prince is not to sleepe, but to watche: not to be idle, but to trauell: for that euerie excessiue recreation, which his person taketh, forthwith redoundeth to the offence of the common wealth. From my birth vntill this day, of any thing I haue not had greater experiẽce, then to see, heare, read, suffer, and experiment trauels: wherof many I beheld farre off: but alas of my selfe, that nowe am inuironed therewith: because the appetite of the vulgar people is so feeble and variable, that if to day they giue and elect a good prince, to morrow they would relishe and haue a taste of the gouernement of some other. Naturallie, all men, in all thinges, and at all houres, desire to heare and see nouelties, and much more desire the same in the estate of gouernement, then in all other thinges: for that no prince gouerneth so well, but that they conceiue an other should gouerne better. Vntill this day I haue beene well liked, serued, and reuerenced, but from henceforth al men for the most part, shal beare me enuie and hatred: because the estate of princes is so enuied, that hee shall want sand in the Sea to reckon his enimies: but the number of his fingers of one hand, shal exceede to point out his friends.

All this I haue said (fathers conscript) to the end ye shall not merueile, why I haue refused the burthen of the Empire, but rather am escandalized, knowing what I know, to see my selfe charged and ouer laden with ỹ Empire: becausc to renounce it, a thousãd thinges do moue me, & to attempt it, nothing inuite me. But since the gods haue so willed, my destinies so permitted, & ye also haue so ordeined: I determin to lode my selfe with this burdẽ, although I am assured it wil cost me my life: but I yeld it al for wel imployed, if it

perfourmed to the benefite of the common wealth.

These wordes being said by Pertinax, the Senate receiued great pleasure, and chiefly praised him, for that hée forbad all men to speake euill of Commodus, knowing (as they all did knowe) that hée had bëne his mortall enimie. The Senat receiued Pertinax in the midst amõgest them, and did accompany and attend vpon him, vnto all the temples: and euery temple did offer vnto the Gods, notable
" sacrifices. And most truly this was a notable and also a
" laudable custome amongest the Romans, which is to witt,
" that princes newly elected, did first visite the Gods, before
" they permitted themselues to be visited of men. As Per-
" tinax had his person in so great authoritie, and being elec-
" ted by the armie, and the Senat with so great concord: and
" further, being old and hoarie headed, and so long time kno-
" wen in Rome, it was a monstruous thing to behold, when
" he came forth into Rome, how al men hasted to sée his face:
" for truly it seemed litle vnto euery man to obey him as a
" prince, but to loue and serue him as a father.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Of many thinges which he did after he was Emperour.

The first thing that Pertinax commaunded, or prouided, was, that the men of warre were very wel payed: and therwith practised great discipline, in which matter, more then in any other, he presently gaue reformation: for that in the Empire of Commodus, the armie was abandoned vnto great libertie.

Cõmodus consumed so great summes of monie in vices, ỹ there was not sufficient to pay the men of warre: ꝙ by this occasion they did filche by night, rob on high wayes, sacke houses, spoile corne, oppresse the poore, and were bribers with rich men: finally, they were desperate, and so fleght,

that

that for feare of any paine, they neuer abſteyned from offence. Not many dayes after that Pertinax was publiſhed Emperour, and with great ſeriouſnes on a certeine day, vſed familiaritie with Letus and Electus, a Conſul named Falcus ſaid vnto him: what an Emperour (O Pertinax) thou ſhalt proue, thy workes begin to make demonſtration: ſince thou leadeſt after thée Letus and Electus, which as traytours did kill their Lord Commodus: doing what thou doeſt, and conſenting to that wherto thou didſt conſent, it may be no leſſe, beſides the euill example which thou yéeldeſt vnto Rome, thou giueſt alſo ſuch ſcruple vnto thy fame: whereby we thinke, that if thou wert not the inuentour of his death, at the leaſt thou delighteſt to cloke the ſame. Vnto this Pertinax made aunſwere, it well ſéemeth, that although thou be a Cõſul, thou art but a yongling: ſince thou knoweſt not to make difference of times. It maketh no great matter, that I doe with Letus and Electus, as they did with their Lord Commodus, that is to ſay, they obeyed him and followed him, and that whiche they moſt deſired, they moſt diſſembled: and at the houre of opportunitie, they diſpatched him of his life. The ſame day that hée was created Auguſtus and Emperour, hée was intituled Pater patriæ: this excellencie vnto none, either ſince or before, was giuen vppon that day. His wife was named Flauia Titiana, vnto whome likewiſe on the ſame day that he was inueſted Auguſtus, ſhe was intituled Auguſta. The Emperour Pertinax did greatly trauell, to allowe all thinges that his Lord Marcus Aurelius did fauour, to finiſh that which hée had begon, to ſuſteine that which hée had left, to repaire that which he had built and to imitate all that which hée had done: for hée ſaid, it was impoſſible to erre, in following the ſtepps of the good Marcus Aurelius. The fame being diuulgate throughout the Empire, howe Commodus was dead, and Pertinax choſen Emperour: the countries, cities, prouinces, and kingdomes, gaue very large rewards vnto the meſſengers thereof, no leſſe for the death of Commodus, then for the

election of Pertinax. As hée had béene in so long time in so many prouinces, Prætor, Censor, Quirite, Edil, Consul, Proconsul, and Censor, Pertinax was one of the most famous Romanes in the Empire: whereof succéeded, that after the Barbarians were aduertised, that Pertinax was Emperour of Rome, such as were rebelles, left their armour, and such as had taken truce, made peace. Pertinax had a sonne, whome the Romanes would haue created Augustus, to the end hée should succéede him after his dayes in the Empire: which he could neuer like off, or consent vnto, saying: The Gods neuer graunt, that with the hope of the Empire, my sonne should be nourished vnto vice and idlenesse. Commodus had laide intollerable impostes and tributes vpon his people, which Pertinax commaunded to be made frustrate: affirming, that of the will of princes in charging their kingdomes with vniust tributes, there succedeth a wilful denial of due and most iust
" paiments. False witnesses hee commaunded to be punished according vnto the lawe named, *Pena del talion*, that is
" to say, they should be executed by Iustice, wherein they had
" accused others by malice. Hée ordeyned that the testament
" which had bæn made by the husband & wife ioyntly, might
" not be altered by the suruiuer. Also he did ordeyne, that
" any man dying intestate, should not forfeit his landes or
" goods vnto ỹ fiscall, but that his sonne, or most nære kins-
" man should inherite the same: saying, there were no reason
" or iust lawe, where the dead for want of speach should lose
" his goods. The Senators on a day said vnto Pertinax, how
" the Questors of the treasurie, and the officers of the fiscal,
" had murmured at him, for the law that he made in the fa-
" uour for the dead intestate, vnto whom hee aunswered:
" Fathers conscript, I may safely say, there are not so many
" that complaine of this lawe, as there be that praise and a-
" lowe it: but I recke not whether the one doth praise or the
" other mislike: but in my iudgement, it is no worke of Ro-
" manes, but the inuẽtion of tyrants, of robberies, briberies &
" rapines, to fill the treasurie with riches. He made a lawe,

that

that no fiscall should sue anye person for landes, or goodes that were doubtfull, saying: that the fiscall ought to remoue nothing that clearely were not his owne: and that in case of doubt, more sure and more conformable vnto iustice were it, to remaine with him that doth possesse it, thã with the fiscall that doth demaunde it. He commaunded all things vniustly taken by his predecessour Commodus, to be restoared vnto the owners. When the Secretarie came to firme this lawe to be proclaimed, and Pertinax reading the same, wherein it was said: Wee commaunde that all thinges which our predecessour Commodus hath robbed, which word robbed, he blotted out with his pen, and enterlined this word gotten: saying, it is sufficient that the lawe be in the fauour of the liuing: without iniuring, with foule woordes, Princes that be dead. All that which was knowen manifestly to be Commodus debt, he commaunded to be payed, and all which he had promised to be giuen: and besides all this, the wheat, oyle, and other things which particularly were vsed to be giuen and diuided amongest the people of Rome, he caused with great diligence to be brought from all kingdomes, and in great abundance and liberalitie commaunded it to be bestowed. Many vniust tributs being takẽ away by Pertinax, there succæded a great necessitie for the paiment and reliefe of the armie of Africa: whereby he was constreyned to enact new impositions of his common wealth, whereuppon the Consul Gelianus toke occasion to say, that he had done contrary to that which he had begon in the Empire, & against that which he had said in the Senat: Pertinax aunswering said. When I was Consul (as thou art) I did meruaile at the dædes of princes, and now that I am an Emperour, I meruaile of that which you Consuls do speake: thus much Gelianus I say to this end, because thou shalt vnderstand, that Emperours at times, make lawes as they ought, and at other times not as they would, but as they may.

CHAP. VII.

¶ Of many thinges which he did ordeine and reforme in the common wealth.

THere was in Rome and in the confines of Italie, much roughe ground for corne, which being barren for want of manuring, Pertinax commaunded proclamation to bée made, that if any man would grub, manure, or till ỹ same, hée should frée ly for tenne yeares, take the profite thereof. Before Pertinax vsed this diligence in Italie, frō Aegypt, Spaine, and Sicyl, they brought wheat to furnish the same: for which cause Traiane did vse to say, that Rome was more tributarie then any place of the world: for that they could not eate, but if it were giuen them from other kingdomes. There were many particular thinges said to be the Emperours, namely, hills, heards, gardēs, riuers, palaces, and houses: which hée commaunded to be altered, naming them hils, gardens and riuers, not of the Emperour, but of the common wealth, for hée affirmed, that on that day, in which any whatsoeuer, was made Emperour, hée might haue nothing proper vnto himselfe: and said further, that if this name Prince be well vnderstode, it giueth no other dignitie to the person that vseth the same, but to make him defender of the territories of the countrie, and procurer of the common wealthe. In the dayes of his predecessours, they had attempted new impositions, that is to say, in ports of the sea, at the ports of cities, for passage of high wayes, of barkes vppon riuers, and for baking in ouens: al which were to the great detriment of the common wealth, and the auncient libertie of Rome: the collection whereof Pertinax from thence forth, commaunded to ceasse. Being demaunded of the Consul Tortelius, why he made frustrat lawes so profitable, aunswered: because without comparison much more are the displeasures which they giue me, then

then the money which they bring me: and as mée séemeth, we may not saye, that that money is verie cleanely that comes imbrewed with displeasures. He commaunded that in criminall causes, offendours should be verie well hearde: and if in case any should dye, fourtie dayes to be expired before he should suffer. It was a matter verye monstruous and scandalous, that was consumed in expences, in the dayes of Commodus: wherein Pertinax in suche wise prouided, that they murmured no lesse against him for his frugalitie, then against Commodus for his prodigalitie. They muche blame Pertinax, who set before his guestes whiche did eate at his table, halfe pigges, and halfe géese: and many times sent two soppes betwirt two plates for a present, and sometime the legge of a Phesant, & at other times the wing of a capon, and reserued also in the morning somewhat to be eaten at night. Princes ought verie muche to consider, and also to auoyde, not to be noted miserable at their table: for it is verie small that in such trifles may be saued, and verie much that they giue vnto the multitude to murmur.

He many times came foorth vnto the fielde of Mars, and there he caused the whole armie to exercise feates of war, rewarding such as were industrious, and reprehendinge such as were dull and harteleste. There were many Romaines, and others in the confines of Italie, whiche did owe great summes of money, not onely vnto the fiscall, but also vnto the treasurie, among whome, some in times past had béene his friendes, and others that were in great necessitie, he cõmaunded both the one & the other to bee deliuered of the fiscall, since it was due vnto him selfe, and made payement of their whole debt that was due vnto the treasurie. Amongest other vertues, the Emperour Pertinax of twaine was muche noted and praised: whiche is to wéete, of clemencie and gratefulneste: for that he was pitifull vnto the afflicted, and thankfull vnto his friendes. Pertinax had a sonne, whome, after he was Emperour, he would not permit to come to the court, either as much

„ as vnto Rome: but that he helde him in his countrey, fol-
„ lowing his owne affaires, and the profite of his owne
„ house: whereuppon the Consul Fuluius Turbone saide
„ vnto Pertinax, that he seemed rather the sonne of a la-
„ bourer, then of an Emperour: he lift vp his eyes to hea-
„ uen and with a greate sigh, saide: My mother Rome hath
„ cause to be contented, that I offer and put my life in pe-
„ rill for her cause, without venturing my sonne and house
„ in like daunger. Most surely the saying was lamentable,
„ and the more it is considered, the more profounde it is:
„ whereby it appeareth, that he helde him self for moste vn-
„ fortunate, to be established in the Empire: and that he
„ left his sonne in greatest felicitie, to be depriued of the
„ Empire.

Although Pertinax were olde and graue, and was placed in the height of the Empire, he alwayes vsed greate vrbanitie towardes all men, in suche wise that no man did him reuerence, vnto whome he did not vtter some courtesie: according to the qualitie of the person.

„ Fiftie seruauntes in Rome in one night and in one houre,
„ slewe their maisters, for whome the Emperour caused
„ so diligent searche, that onely fiue escaped: and the paine
„ that he commaunded they should suffer, was, to carrie the
„ dead bodies bounde fast backe to backe, in suche wise, that
„ the stenche of the dead, did finishe the wretched life of the
„ liuing.

„ In the schoole where Pertinax studied, a certeine Romaine named Valerius was there also a student, and being alwayes in companie, and of age not much vnlike, and continuing in greate friendship, did many times eate with Pertinax, which during their repast were neuer heard to talke, but of science, knighthod, repayring of Rome, or else the reformation of the commen wealth.

It did well appeare in Pertinax, that he toke the Empire against his will: for truely, neither in his dyet, either in his apparell, either in his gesture or speeche, either

ther in any other thing, did he behaue him selfe as an Emperour, in suche wise, that he presumed not to represent what he was, but what he had bene. He saide manie times, that in this worlde he neuer made the like faulte, as when he accepted the Empire: and many times made motion to leaue the same, and to returne vnto his house: but that he did recomfort him selfe with this saying: that for as muche as he was of so greate age, he might not liue longe, but be deliuered of his tedious life.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ Of certeine vices wherewith he was infected, and of the prodigies of his death.

As the Emperour Pertinax was olde, so was he charged with the infirmities of olde age: that is to saye, with auarice, because in gathering and kéeping of money he was verie diligent: and in giuing or spending verie dull and vnwilling.

Also he was noted to be a man verie flexible in his affaires: that is to saye, he was not stiffe, either greatly did vse therein any contradiction, but that which one did counsell him, another might easily persuade the contrarye: the cause whereof was his good naturall inclination, whiche coulde not without griefe, beholde any man that was in sorowe.

Also

Also Pertinax was noted, that he neuer denied any thing that was demaunded, although many his promises were neuer performed: for, at moste times he promised to giue that which was impossible to be accomplished. And becauſe the maieſtie and greateneſſe of Princes doth conſiſt to haue and poſſeſſe, whereof to giue: they ought much to be aduertiſed in conſideration, what is craued of them, and what they promiſe: for hauiug to do (as they haue) with ſo manie, and to furniſhe ſo infinite neceſsities: they ought, if their ſubiectes be vnſhamefaſt in craving, to be graue in promiſing. Ioyntly with this, Princes ought to be aduertiſed, that where they haue once gaged their royall worde, all things ſet aparte, they ought to perfourme the ſame. Pertinax was twiſe married, his ſeconde marriage was with the daughter of Vulpitianus, whome he made prefecte when he was made Emperour. As concerning the vnchaſtitie of his wife, alſo Pertinax was noted: whiche is to wéete, of negligence in gouerning, and remiſſe in reprehending her, for that truely ſhée was both young and faire, abſoiute and diſſolute: and reported in Rome, to be more enamoured with a young Muſician then with Pertinax her olde huſbande. Alſo Pertinax was much noted to haue vſed vnlawfull loue with Cornificia his nére kinſwoman, whome he had nouriſhed from her childhood: for ſhée was committed by her father vnto his protection: this matter was no leſſe ſcandalous then foule and no leſſe foule, then ſcandalous: for that ſuche like, and ſo great euill, was not conuenient to a man of ſo greate age, either permiſſible in a Prince of ſo great grauitie. Some prodigious and ſtraunge ſignes appeared before his death, eſpecially on a time, offering certeine ſacrafices vnto the Goddes Penates, that when the coales were moſte kindled and on fire, ſoudeinly they were ſéene all dead and quenched: whiche did ſignifie, that in the greateſt certeintie of his life, ſoudeinly death ſhould aſſaile him.

Not fiue dayes before he was ſlaine, as in the temple

of

of Iupiter he was offering great sacrifices, with his own handes he offered a Peacocke, wherein he found no hearte when it was opened, and soudeinely the head banished, when the throate was cutt. Eight dayes before he was slaine, a Starre ioyned with the Sunne, and did shine at noone dayes, as if it had béene midnight. Three dayes before he was slaine, Pertinax dreamed that he fell into a fishepond: and that there was a man with an huge knife to kill him, and woulde haue fled and could not. Iulianus whiche after succéeded Pertinax in the Empire, hauing a Nephewe newe married vnto his Néece, and hauing repaired vnto Pertinax to visite him, Pertinax saide vnto the young married man: be good, and I shall holde and esteeme thee as my sonne: serue thy vncle Iulianus as a father, because he is my fellowe in office and successour. They had béene ioyntly Consuls, and afterwardes Iulianus in the proconsulship was successour vnto Pertinax: and although he spake it of the succession of the proconsulship, yet they conceiued his spéeche to be a prognostication of his succession in the Empire. It was discouered vnto Pertinax, that the Consul Falconius desired and also procured to succéede him in the Empire, and to that ende had taken a deuise to dispatche him of his life, of whiche case Pertinax grieuously complained vnto the Senate: the trueth whereof being afterwardes tryed and knowen, he as instantly intreated that Falconius might be pardoned: saying, he had rather extoll him selfe by his clemencie, then boaste him selfe of his vengeance: whereupon Falconius was pardoned, leading his life euer after in his house: and for that he had béene in greate honour, and amongest the Romaines muche estéemed, but by that treason had lost his credite, within fewe dayes, méere sorrowe gaue an ende vnto his life.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the occasion that the Pretorians tooke to murther him.

THE officers that Commodus vsed for his seruice in court, as Chamberlaines, Secretaries, maisters of housholde, clarkes of the kitchin, porters, cookes, and such other, Pertinax had not chaunged, staying that chaunge vntil the daye of celebration of the buylding of Rome: for he helde opinion, that before the euil shoulde be remoued, it were greate reason, at leasure to make election of others that were good. That which Pertinax had thought to haue done in his house, he determined also to execute amongest the captaines of warres, and other officers of the common wealth, because they were so absolute in commaunding, and so couetous in robbing, that if the paine were recompenced with the fault, it had beene a small matter, from euery one of them to haue taken away life.

When affaires of importaunce are deferred, the secreat thereof incurreth greate daunger: and for this cause, as Pertinax deferred this matter from day to day, all officers suspected what he woulde do with them, and therfore determined to dispatche him of his life. Extremely was Pertinax hated of the men of warre, and of the particular officers of the common wealth: which hatred proceeded not of any iust offence, done by this good Prince, but for that he consented not that they should robbe & cõmitte vile déedes. Many times the wicked beare enuie vnto the good, not because the vertuous suffer them to do euill: for so peruerse is the malice of some peruerse persons, that they take more delight to do euil vnto others, then

then to receiue benefite vnto them selues.

Unto all the officers of the common wealth, Pertinax commaunded that they shoulde enioye intierly all fées and profites appertaining vnto their offices: and vnto all the Prætors, and souldiers of the warres, he prouided their wages very well paide them: and besides all this he dealte not with them as with vassals, but the chiefteines he did honour as brethren, and to meaner persones he spake as vnto his sonnes: but all this notwithstanding, they liued in greate passion, and no lesse discontented: for that in times past, their extraordinarie robberies were muche more then their wages. But thus was the case.

On a daye, certeine Prætors of the armies did assemble at a dinner, with other officers of the citie, as also diuers seruitours of the courte: and after they had largely eaten, and aboundantly dronken, they beganne to talke of the dayes of Commodus: that is to saye, howe then they were at libertie, riche, and honoured: and now since Pertinax reigned, they were poore, captiues, and defaced: and that the faulte thereof consisted more in their owne cowardise, then in any other person. And further proceeding in this matter, they concluded to spoile Pertinax of his life, and to choose another Emperour of Rome at their liking, which shoulde renewe the memorie of their Lorde Commodus, and violate all actes that Pertinax had confirmed: and that it was a more safer waye to bee gouerned by a wise young man like Commodus, then by an olde dotyng fole, as Pertinax.

Partely, for that they had their heades troubled with drinke, and their stomaches hoate with eating, but aboue all the rest, furiously inflamed with talke, soudeinly they rose all from the borde, and euery man goeth home to be armed, with a determination to dye in that enterprise: or, that same daye to dispatche Pertinax of his life.

All

" All the people being at quiet, and Pertinax recheleſſe
" and without regarde, the Prætorians of the armies, with
" a greate number of armed men, ſome trayling their lan-
" ces, and others with ſwordes drawen, marche vnto the
" imperiall palace, where Pertinax was repoſing: for that
" it was but little more then paſt none. And as they ap-
" proched the houſe, they began to exclaime: the memorie
" of Commodus liue for euer, and the falſe olde Pertinax
" is but dead. All ſuch as were preſent with Pertinax in
" the palace, neither knewe what to doe, and muche leſſe
" what to counſell: ſome ſaide vnto Pertinax that he ſhould
" ſende for ſuccour vnto the people: others, that he ſhoulde
" hide him ſelfe in ſome ſecrete place: others, that he ſhuld
" fight vntil his friendes ſhoulde ſende reliefe: finally, the
" caſe conteined ſo great confuſion, that he whiche feared
" leaſt, did feare to loſe his life: becauſe all thoſe deintie
" courtiers had exceſſe of garments to walke in the ſtrætes,
" but wanted armour to come forth to fight. It ſæmed vn-
" to Pertinax that to demaund ſuccour, there was no time:
" and to attempt to fight, they were to fewe: to put them
" ſelues to flight, there was no place: to traueile to be hid-
" den, were a great blemiſhe: the good prince determined to
" come forth & to talke with the Prætorians, to ſæ if with
" wordes he might apeaſe them. And as afterwardes they
" reported which were preſent with him in that great con-
" flict, Pertinax did wel diſcouer the greatneſſe of his mind,
" and howe little he eſtæmed the Empire, and alſo, howe
" muche he lothed the vanities of this worlde, becauſe hee
" neither ſhewed any apparance of feare, for that he heard,
" either chaunge of countenaunce, either was troubled in
" any thing that he had to ſaye. Pertinax cauſed the gates
" of his court to be ſet wide open, and came forth of his
" chamber, hauing no manner of armour or weapon, and
" began to reaſon with them that did inuiron him after this
manner.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of a notable ſpeach that the Emperour Pertinax vſed, when his ſouldiours came to kill him.

IF this ſo greate commotion, whiche this day ye haue raiſed (O my friendes and commilitants) be for that I ſeeme not woorthy of the Empire of Rome: ye haue to remember, that I neither obtained the ſame by ſuite or requeſt, either bought it for money, but that forceably ye made me to take it, I of my parte imploying my forces to reſiſt it. And if it be, for that I haue had no regard vnto the common wealth, yee knowe howe ofte I haue requeſted to ceaſe from gouernement, and to departe vnto my houſe: and ſince this is moſte true, I knowe not to what end ye ſhoulde remoue me perforce from that whiche I woulde haue lefte and remitted with greate good will. And if for that I haue beene ingrate vnto my mother Rome, or haue vſed euill gouernement in the common wealth, ye will take away my life, then I cannot but confeſſe it to be a worke moſt iuſt, albeit thereby I ſhoulde be purſued, not onely with paine and griefe, but alſo with infamie: becauſe ſuche a death yealdeth more paine and ſhame to deſerue it, then to ſuffer it. And if ye thinke your ſelues diſgraced, to haue a Prince that is not deſcended of the Fabians, of the Metells, of the Fabritians, or

of ſome other notable Romanes: in this caſe impute the fault vnto the Gods, whiche ſo haue created me, and vnto your ſelues who with ſuch conditions woulde electe me Emperour: becauſe in naturall matters neither deſerue we prayſe, for ẏ we haue, either reprehenſion, for that whiche wee lacke. It were more iuſt (O my friendes and commilitants) in this caſe to haue reſpecte, not to the ſhadowe and vanitie of linage, but vnto the vertue & grauitie of the perſō: for it ſtretcheth vnto ſmall purpoſe in good gouernemente, to be deſcended of generous bloude, and to bee of filthy life. And if ye haue been altered, for wante of pay of wages, for the whole or in parte, preſently giue me to vnderſtande, and I ſweare and promiſe, that preſently euerie man ſhall entirelie be paide: whiche if it be ſo, I am vtterly without faulte: ſince vntill this preſent I neuer hearde thereof. And ſeeing ye be gentlemen of greate power, and Romanes of noble bloud, ye haue to conſider in this caſe, that according vnto our lawes, innocencie and ignorance of the fault mitigateth & diminiſheth the extremitie of puniſhmēt. And if in caſe ye be eſcādalized for ẏ ye ſee mee rigorous, hard, & extreme, & ẏ I am ſo reputed amongſt the people: as ſmall reaſon haue ye in this caſe, as in the reſt, becauſe vniuerſaly they craue that iuſtice be done, and yet they abhorre ẏ execution thereof. And if ye would blame me for the death of Commodus my predeceſſour, and your Lorde: ye haue ſeene by experience howe muche I am blameleſſe, and that vnto mee, more then to anie man, his death was grieuous: and that this is true, call to your remembrance

brance the day on which Commodus was slaine: where in I sawe you singe for ioy: and of greate griefe ye sawe me to weepe. You Romaines, you may not denie mee, but that the death of Commodus was of you all desired, and my election of you all alowed: and since it was so, I maruell that men of so greate authoritie and grauitie, should inuente so straunge a noueltie as this. that is to say, in so shorte space, to hate that whiche ye procured: and to haue an appetite to that which ye loathed. I sweare by the immortall Gods, I knowe not of anie vile deede which I haue don against the common wealthe, wherefore ye should abhorre mee: neither knowe I anie thinge that Commodus hath done since hee died, wherefore ye shoulde loue and desire him: for if we sighe for the dead, it is not for their deedes done, after that they died: but for the good woorkes whiche they perfourmed when they were liuinge. If for no other cause then to take away my life, ye haue ioyned and armed all these men of warre: certeinlie it is a thinge superfluous and vaine, in as much as I am both sicke & olde, and with the burthen of the Empire so muche discontented, and with my life so muche displeased, I esteeme little to liue, and much lesse to die.

It grieueth me not so muche to lose my life, as it doth of the slaunder and infamie whiche ye lay vpon our mother Rome: whiche is to say, that the Romans which haue bene renowned for their loyaltie towardes their princes, shoulde haue reporte throughout the worlde, to haue slaine their Emperour.

Ye knowe that ye beeing (as ye are) men of warre, and to no other ende so well payed and relieued of ỹ tribute, but to chastice suche as rebell in the common wealth, and to defende the house and the imperiall persone of your prince: and since it is thus, what may be more vnseemlie, impertinent, and scandalous, then suche as be admitted for my guarde and safetie, that they and no other should come to take away my life. And for as muche as ye be men of warre, ye are bounde to obserue the lawes there of: that is to say, euen in the warrs of enimies, yee may not, or ought not to kill children or olde men: and since I am an olde man, and a citizen of Rome, wherefore will yee do with mee, that which yee will not do with an enimie? In these wordes whiche ye haue saide, in the disorder whiche ye haue vsed, and in the houre wherin ye haue vndertaken this matter, it clearely appeareth that to enterprise so greate a matter, ye haue not vsed greate prouidence: for if ye had considered and examined the matter, ye shoulde moste certainlie haue founde, that in your determination to kill mee, there is no other fruite gathered, but to raise in your mother Rome a greate scandal, and to thruste your selues in great daunger. And since oue shall inherite the Empire, and not all: with what folly are you taken (ye Romaines) for ye al to hazarde and lose your selues for one mans gaine, and yet knowe not, if afterwardes that one man shall be gratefull or vnthankefull. I may not flee that whiche the destinies haue ordayned, either what ye haue determined: but in case this

this be my last day, and my fatall houre be come: I pray the immortall Godes, that the innocent bloude whiche shal be shead of me, that the vengeance thereof fall not vpon my mother Rome: but that euerie one of you doe feele it in his person and his house.

When Pertinax came to the pointe, to speake these woordes, for the moste parte al that were presente let fall teares from their eyes, and beganne to departe, turning their backes, and holding downe their weapons: because they had greate shame, to offende and to wante reuerence vnto so honourable hoarie haires, and to woordes so wel spoken. He that moste vilelie had spoken against Pertinax, & he that most had moued ỹ men of warre, was one named Tuncius of ỹ countrie of Theutonio: this wretched caytiue whē he sawe that al men returned, and had renounced to kill Pertinax, he thrust a lance through the midest of his bodie: with whiche wounde, Pertinax fell to the earth, and therevpon gaue him other woundes wherof he presentlie dyed. Greate sorrowe was it vnto the people of Rome, when they vnderstode that Pertinax was dead, and hauing reigned but fourtēne moneths & xx. dayes, he profited more the commonwealth, thē others in fourtēne yeares. The traytour Tuncius was not cōtented to haue slaine Pertinax, but he also and his companions forgotte not to cute off his head, to fixe it on a lance, and to beare it through the streets of Rome. Pertinax died the fifte daye of Aprill Falconius & Clarus being Consuls, his head was throwne of his enimies into Tiber, his bodie buried by his friends and kinsfolkes in the sepulchre of his father in lawe, at that presente without anie funerall pomp, because they slewe all persons that vttered sorrowe or griefe for his death.

The life of the Emperour Iulianus, that bought the Empire, compiled by syr Anthonie of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, & counseller vnto the Empero ur Charles the fifte.

CHAP. I.

Of the life, linage, and countrie of the Emperour Iulianus.

THe Emperour Didi⁹ Iulian⁹, had to his great graundfather a Romaine named Salianus, who was a learned lawyer, twise Consul, Prætour of the citie, and died in the secõd yeare of the reigne and Empire of Nero: and they say, he died of pure sorrowe, to see the common wealth in the handes of so furious a tyrant, as Nero.

His graundfather was named Salbius Iulianus, who gaue him selfe more to armes, then to letters: and went vnto the warres of Datia with Traiane, and was captaine of the seconde Legion, and longe time diuider of the victualls, and in the ende dyed in his office, that is to say, in the warres against kinge Dacus. His father was named Didius Petronius, who neither gaue him selfe to science, either followed the warrs as his predecessours, but was residente and liued alwayes in Rome, following his affaires, and holdinge offices in the common wealth: hee was an assured

assured friende vnto Antoninus Pius, and dyed in the Empire of the good Marcus Aurelius. His mother was named Clara Emilia, a generous and noble Romaine, a greate friende and kinswoman of Domitia Lucilla, that was mother vnto Marcus Aurelius: so did she intreate and fauour him as a sonne, and he did obey her as a mother. The first office that Didius Iulianus did beare in the common wealth, was Decemviriato, which is to wéete, to be one of the x. visitours of ỹ people: and though he wanted age to vse it, yet he wanted not fauour to obteine it, because Domitia, mother vnto Marcus Aurelius, did craue this office for him in the Senate. He was also Questor two yeares together, which office he helde against the Romane lawes, for that he was vnder the age of xxv. yeares: but as hee obtained the office of Decemviriato by the sute of the mother, so did they graunte the other, by the fauour of the sonne, which is to wéete Marcus Aurelius. And after that Didius Iulianus was past the age of thirtie yeares, he neuer wanted offices in the common wealth: for vntill that age, ỹ Romanes had rather that yongemen shoulde occupie them selues in learning, then in commaunding and gouernement.

Iulianus was Edil, Pretor, and Censor diuerse times, diuers yeares, and at times muche distant: but the office wherein he continued longest time, was Romane Pretor: because he had learning to gouerne, and iustice to execute. He was naturallie giuen to the warres, and with this motion he went one time into Germanie, where hee neither obtained fame, either augmented his goods: for that certeinely he was more handsome in gouernemente, then hardie in fight.

He gouerned by the space of three yeares, the prouince of Belgica, whiche nowe is named Swetia, in which gouernement, he behaued him selfe so venturouslie, ỹ he obteined what he had lost in the warre, which is to say, much reputation in the common wealth, and greate goodes for his house.

In the seconde yeare of the Empire of Marcus Aurelius, the inhabitantes neere vnto the riuer Albo (whiche is in the kingdome of Bohemia) rebelled, vnto which commotion Didius Iulianus repayred: and as hee was humble of speache, skilful and aduised in his affaires, so in short space he reduced them vnto ỹ seruice of the Romaine Empire. When the Senate had intelligence what Iulianus had done in Bohemia, the Emperoure thoughte him selfe therein verie well serued, and the Senate no lesse contented: chiefly, for that so exactlie hee had performed the same, without requeste or commaundemente: and in recompence of this so singular a seruice, they sent him the Consulshipe, without his requeste, or anie other to solicite the same. When the newes of Consulshipe came vnto Iulianus, they saye that he saide: I sweare by the immortall Godes, that I neither solicited the Consulship, either thought to haue obteined the same: but here in it clearelie appeareth, that the good dothe more solicite with his good woorkes, then the euill with his manie guiles.

After he had accomplished the yeare of Consulshipe, hee was sent vnto ỹ lower Germanie as Pretor, which countrie is nowe called Flanders, where he remained two years: & frõ thẽce returned to Rome, where he had charge of victuals, which office amongst the Romaines was more profitable, then honourable. The Emperour Marcus Aurelius being deade, his sonne Commodus reigning in the Empire, Iulianus was accused for a traitour, for that he, and Siluius his cousen, had conspired to haue slaine Commodus: his accuser was a noble gentleman of Rome named Seuerus: but for that he might not proue his accusation, they cut off his heade, and set Iulianus at libertie. At one time Iulianus was in fauour with Commodus, & an other time in disgrace: but after that he was accused of conspiracie, he did allwayes beare him mortall hatred: and when he vnderstoode this in Commodus, both in worde and deede, moste times he kept his house and excused

excused him selfe from the offices of the common wealth. Iulianus was a lawyer, and in letters moste learned: of whome it is said, that fewe did surpasse him in science, and none was equall vnto him in eloquence: for hee did neuer pleade anie cause in the Senate, but he obteined the victorie. He was prompt in speache, sharpe in propounding, and graue in determination, of stature somewhat lowe, of sanguine complexion, and in his youth beganne to be horeheaded: of whome in this case it may be saide, that hee was a monster in nature: for that he had neuer a white haire in his bearde, either anie blacke haire in his heade. His wife was named Malia Escantilia, and had but one daughter named Didia Clara. In this also as in the other, nature woulde be extreme: because the mother was the moste foule woman that had bene seene in Rome, and the daughter was the fairest dame, that euer was sene in Italie.

As Iulianus had gouerned manie countries, had the charge of victuales, & was chiefest aduocate in lawe in al Rome, so he obteined the possession of manie iuells, and the hoording vp of greate summes of money: for whiche cause, all the principall Romaines sought to be his sonnes in lawe: partelie to marrie with the daughter that was so faire, as also to inherite the goods that were so greate. Iulianus was slender, drie, and towards his later dayes he was growne to be cholerik adust, he neuer drank wine, and therefore did eate muche: and yet notwithstanding, he was so curious and so costlie in his manner to drinke water, that with lesse cost he might haue druncke wine. Beinge nowe growne olde, and rich, and hauing but one daughter whiche also was married, Iulianus gaue him selfe to liue in ioy and pleasure, that is to say, vsed not but to solace alongst the riuers, to haunte places frequẽted with people, to recreate with friends, to talke of times paste, to seeke exquisite and delicate meates, and alwayes to haue new guestes: in such wise, that hee did flie eache thinge, that was displeasante: and did and procured what

so euer might yealde pleasure. Iulianus longe time perseuered in Rome in this manner of life, according to which life, he had neither faithfull friendes, or feared and cruell enimies, because if anie did loue him, it was for that hee gaue them some of his money: and if others did hate him, it was because they receiued no parte of his riches.

CHAP. II.

Howe the Empire of Rome was set to sale, and also soulde by proclamation.

AT the instante that ỹ Prætorian bandes had slaine the Emperour Pertinax, they aduised to ioyne in one, to seaze the walles, to take the gates of Rome, and that with an armed power: partelie for that the people should not rise against them, as also to chose an Emperour at their owne liking. Although the common people beholde the imperiall palace besette, yet they did not thinke that they woulde haue slaine the Emperour: because the fame went amongst them, that Pertinax was come forth, and that with milde wordes he had intreated them: but as it after chaunced, though the greate troupes were retyred, Pertinax was slaine by the fewer number. Whē ỹ death of Pertinax was notified vnto the commō people, al Rome was readie in armour. Verie greate was the confusion whiche was that day in Rome, both of the one parte, to see Pertinax slaine, and also for that ỹ armie was bent against the people, and euerie houre redie to ioyne & kill eache other, but that they knewe not againste whome to fight: because the people woulde haue taken vengeaunce of the traitours that had slaine the Emperour, but the armie woulde not deliuer them: in suche wise, that they were

were all faultie in that facte, the one in the acte, the other for consent.

The moste principall of the Senate, manie matrones of Rome, moste wealthy persons, and such as loued peace and quietnesse, after that they sawe the walles besette, the towers taken, the gates lockt, and the streetes stopte through out al Rome, they departed vnto their inheritances, vntill they might see the conclusion of that so perilous & scandalous a tumulte: for they had had experience, that no man might be safe in his house, vntill there were a new Emperour: and that the election of him, shoulde be consecrated with the handes of manie persons. The Pretorian bandes beholding the moste parte of the people to be fled, and none lefte that durste reuenge the death of Pertinax, or resiste their attempts: they lost al feare, and recouered a newe courage, not to amende the fault whiche they had committed, but to giue and sell the Romane Empire. The case was thus, that a man at armes mounted vpon the wall at the gate Salaria, who in the name of the whole armie made proclamation, and saide with a loude voice: Is there anie man that will giue more for the Empire of Rome? is there anie man that will set a price? for vnto him that will giue most money, we will giue it for his owne. Of all the iniuries, disgraces, and calamities, that the Frenchmen, the Asyrians, the Hunnes, the Gothes & the Lombards did vnto Rome, none was equal vnto this, which is to say, to set the greatnesse and maiestie of Rome in open sale. It was greate griefe to sée it, and also pitie to write it, to sée and heare proclamation, who will giue money for the Empire of Rome: vnto whome a fore time the whole worlde had giuen tribute. By this so notable example, princes and mightie Potentates are to be admonished, what greate mutabilitie is conteined in thinges of this worlde, since the same persons, that had seene Rome the ladie of so manie and greate kingdomes, did also see her solde, proclamed, and bought for money.

All the gentlemen, auncient Romanes, and Senatours, coulde not fill or satisfie them selues with weeping, when they beheelde and hearde the proclamations made out at windowes: and that which did more grieue them, was the greate infamie whiche allwayes shoulde followe Rome, in that shee was set to sale: and of the daunger also of the common wealth, which was to be bought of some tyrante. Those that woulde haue bought the Empire, had no money, for that Commodus had ouerviewed and ransackt their store: and those that coulde haue bought, of greate griefe and no lesse shame, woulde not deale therein: for in respect of the iniurie that they should haue committed vnto their mother Rome, it might not be saide, that they bought it for money, but solde it vnto some enimie. In conclusion the segniorie of Rome, and the greatnesse and maiestie of ỹ Empire, passed in publique proclamations, by the space of three dayes, in whiche no man woulde buye it, or sette it in price: in so muche as the Pretorians were despited that no man would giue money, and the common people in greate sadnesse that they woulde sell it. The fourth day after Pertinax was slaine, as Didius Iulianus was at supper with greate pleasure, and talking howe the Empire continued in proclamations, his wife, daughter, and sonne in lawe persuading him to aduẽture to buy it since the Pretorians were growne to so great wante of shame as to sell it. Iulianus consideringe of the one parte what was saide by proclamation, and on the other parte, what his friendes did persuade him, left his eating, cast downe his heade, and gaue him selfe profoundlie to consider of the matter, whiche is to wete, whether it were simplicitie to leaue, or vilanie with money to buy the common wealth.

Iulianus being verie pensatiue with him selfe, and indetermined, his wife, daughter, and kinsfolke, yet againe replied, saying, that it was not nowe time to blinde him selfe with studie, but to profite him selfe by his money: and that also he had to consider, that it were lesse euill to buy

the

the Empire with his owne proper money, thē as other, to obteine the same by losse of mens liues: and that he shoulde not care to deferre the euente by delayes, since the Pretorians grewe displeased, and proclamations to be cut off. As Iulianus naturally was proude, founde him selfe riche, and also importunated by his friendes, he determined to buy the Empire: and for the purpose presently goeth to the fote of the wall, and crieth out vnto the watch that was thereon, saying: for bloud, ye knowe me to be descended of noble Romanes, and in riches most wealthy: and that he woulde giue them so muche money for the Empire, that they shoulde be abashed to sée it, and tyred to tell it. The Consul Sulpitius, father in lawe vnto the Emperour Pertinax, in secrete did solicite the Pretorians to giue him the Empire, not to the ende he woulde buy it, but that they shoulde electe him: but the Pretorians although they sawe that he was a noble Romane, and not vnworthy, but verie conuenient for the Empire, they durste not put them selues into his handes, doubting that he afterwardes remembring the death of his sonne Pertinax, would execute on them some rigorous reuengement. Sulpitius was a man wise and sapient, reposed, and auncient: with the good wil of the Senate, and requeste of the people, to him and no other woulde they haue giuen the Empire: and doubtlesse had it not bēne for the aliaunce which he had with Pertinax, who was his sonne in lawe, they woulde rather haue giuen it him franckely for nothinge, then haue solde it vnto the other for money. The Pretorians being muche despited, that they might not receiue money for the Empire, since foure dayes they had proclamed the sale thereof, and nowe finding Iulianus at the foote of the wall, who had offered money for ẏ Empire, they put downe a ladder, and toke him vp vnto them. Nowe, when Iulianus sawe him selfe in grace with ẏ Pretorians, and ẏ Pretorians hauing him in their handes, they demaunded

more

more then he possessed, and hee did offer more then hee had. The case was thus: that they with him, and he with them, did capitulate iiii. thinges, whereof none was to the honour of Rome, & much lesse to the profite of the common wealth. Their firste capitulation was, that he should giue them presently 300000. sesterties: " the second was, that he shoulde neither reuenge the " death, or sustaine the fame of the Emperour Pertinax: " the third was, that he should erect ỹ picture, & renewe " the memorie of Commodus: the fourth was, that freelie they might do, vnder his Empire, as they had done " in the dayes of Commodus: in such wise, that Iulianus " did not onelie buy the Empire for money, but also " gaue them licence to liue wickedlie. This donne and " concluded, the euent of the Empire was stopt in Iulianus, the Pretorians receiuing him in the mids, and attending him throughout all the citie, publishinge with loude voices, Long life be euer vnto the Emperour Iulianus, Commodus alwayes Augustus. Iulianus would take that ouername of Commodus, to do thē pleasure that had sould him the Empire: who in their nourture were bred vp w̄ Commodus, & in their manners and vices as his owne naturall children.

CHAP. III.

Of the great and mortall hatred which the Romaines did beare vnto Iulianus, for buying the Empire.

Iulianus being created Emperour, his first act was, to offer vnto ỹ gods sūptuous sacrifices: being (as it was) the custome of all newe Romane Emperours, presentlye he sent vnto his treasurie for money, to pay them of whom he had bought the Empire. It was a monstruous matter to sée ỹ iuels that he brought forth, & the diuersitie of money which he had: the cause therof was, that he had

had bene a gouernour in diuerse kingdomes, and from them al, brought no small sũmes of their coyne. Incontinẽt after Iulianus obtained the Empire, he brought his wife and daughter vnto ỹ court, whoe toke vpon them ỹ names of Augustaes, & began to be serued, not as Empresses, but as Goddesses: because in their statelinesse & presumption, they sought rather to be adored then serued. The Consul Sulpitius at the houre in which he vnderstode that Iulianus had bought the Empire, departed vnto a certeine house that he had in the countrie, giuing his office vnto Cornelius Repentinus his sonne in lawe, who (as they say) did much resemble Commodus, namely, in dispolition of person, and corruption of manners. Iulianus gaue vnto the army most great thanks, not only for that they had giuen him the Empire, but also because they had intituled his wife & daughter Augustaes and without his request also, had giuen him the name of Pater Patriæ, father of ỹ coũtrie: which title was ỹ most famous ỹ ỹ Romans gaue vnto their Emperours. On ỹ other day after he was intituled Pater patriæ, early in the morning they founde these Latine letters written vpõ his gates: P.V.E.P. seũding in this sense, Proditor, Venditor, Emptor, Patriæ: and thus meant in english: thou art the traytor, the seller, & buyer of thy country. Unquenchable was the fury & hatred ỹ the whole people conceiued against Iulianus, only for ỹ he had bought the Empire, which rancor and hatred they coulde not so couer within their breastes, but that they published it with their tounges, and shewed it with their handes: for on the first day that he came forth in to Rome, they not onely blasphemed him in the stretes, but also from their windowes threwe stones at him: neither did they dine, suppe, or walke in Rome, or in all Italie, but alwayes their talke was of ỹ treason which the Pretorians had committed in selling the Empire, & the greate mischiefe that Iulianus had done in buying the same.

The Senate going to the highe Capitol, to visite the newe

" newe Emperour, resistance was made against them:
" which was not done with armed people, but by boyes
" in the stretes hurling stones at them, and the women
" from their windowes did curse them: which being con-
sidered by the Senate, they aduised for that time, to re-
turne to their houses, no lesse offended, then feared. Al
men bewayled the case with manie teares, and offered
vnto their Gods many sacrifices, humbly praying that it
might please them, shortlie to take away the life of Iu-
lianus, & to execute cruel vengeance on ỹ murderers of
Pertinax. On a certaine time the Circen playes beeing
" prepared, and the seate emperiall placed aloft vpon the
" Theater, when the Emperour Iulianus shoulde haue
" set, certaine of ỹ people rashly not only did remoue it,
" but also did breake it in peces: and he as he was wise
" and aduised did fele it as a man, and did dissemble it
" as one that was discrete. Besides that whiche they sayd
" in his absence, they despised him in his presence: and he
" happened manie times to heare with his owne eares,
" wordes not a little ouerthwarte and iniurious: but he
" was so subtile in that whiche he saide, and no lesse dis-
" sembling in that whiche he hearde, that all the iniuries
" whiche they saide or did, either he toke them in iesse, or
" did counterfete, not to heare them. Naturally Iulianus
was a prince of greate vrbanitie, that is to say, courte-
ous, affable, gratious, and pleasaunt, and did honoure &
reuerence euery man according to the merit of his per-
son & the estate which he held: yet notwithstanding, he
could neither get frinds, either apease enimies. Neither
" Catiline with his tyrannies, either Silla wͦ his seditiõs,
" either Nero with his cruelties, either Commodus wͦ
" his vices, were not vniuersallie so muche hated in the
" Romane Empire, as Didius Iulianus: and their hatred
" was so extreme, that they shut their eyes, because they
" woulde not beholde him: and did abstaine to murmur
" at him, because they woulde not name him. When
" they sawe his horse passe the stretes where on hee

did

did vse to ride, generally they would praye vnto the Gods "
that he might traile him: or if they had seene his meates "
carried, they did wishe it might choke him: finally, they "
did all abhorre his life, & wished his death. Iulianus his "
enimies byted among the people, that on the daye, when
the Pretorians had slaine Pertinax, he had made a gene-
rous and curious banket, wherein he gaue to eate oysters
of the Adriatike Seas, Capons of Capua, wine of Creete,
and water of Cantabria: but aboue all, had Musicke and
daunceing after dinner. Others saide, it was most false,
but on that day he kept his house, and of pure sorrowe to
see Pertinax slaine, did not eate, vntil they had giuen a se-
pulture vnto the dead bodie. Moreouer they saye, that al-
though Iulianus was gladsome, pleasant, and also vicious,
yet he did not excede in extraordinarie expences, and that
it was vnlikely and also impossible, for him to haue made
so sumptuous a banket: for it was many times no-
torious vnto al mẽ, ỹ he did eate in his house no other flesh
by the space of iii. dayes, but on Hare, whiche was sent
him. He was such a miser to spend, & so desirous to hoord "
and lay vp money, ỹ had it not bene for some dayes of sa- "
crifices, or his bidden guests, not a morsel of flesh was ea- "
ten in his house: but only fed of his prouision from his gar- "
den. Many euil customes that Pertinax had remoued
from the common wealth, brought in by Commodus, he
consented ỹ the Pretorians & other vicious persons should
vse them: not that he delighted therein, but to recouer
them to be his friendes. At all times when talke was mo-
ued of his predecessour Pertinax, he would say neither good
nor euil, but that either he changed into some other mat-
ter, or else by dissimulation would seeme not to heare. And
being demaunded, why he did neither alowe or condemne
that which was saide of Pertinax in his presence: he aun-
swered, of the one parte Pertinax was so holy, that there
was not in him to be reprehended: and of the other parte,
he was so hated of ỹ pretorians, that he durst not in their
presence giue him his due commendation.

CHAP.IIII.

¶Of two Romaine Capteines named Seuerus and Pessenius that rebelled against the Emperour Iulianus.

AT the time that Iulianus bought the empire of Rome, there was a Pretor of the armies in Assyria, named Pessenius Niger: who although he was inferiour vnto Iulianus in wealth, yet in vertue he exceeded Iulianus: this Pessenius was a man, grosse, rough, and of greate courage, and naturally was more happie in martiall affaires, then fortunate in the gouernement of the common wealth: all which proceeded, for that in perils he was not daunted with feare, and in trauels had no patience. At the first letters that Pessenius receiued from Iulianus, they saye, he answered: the Romane Empire, doth not vse to suffer it selfe to be gouerned by so euil a man, as is Iulianus: wherefore, if this commaundement be onely from the Emperour, I obey it: but if it be Iulianus commaundement, I appeale from it: wherupon it followed, that from thencefoorth, when any commaundement was sent vnto Pessenius from Rome, Iuliauus name was not in the firme thereof, but onely superscribed with the Emperour of Rome. After this matter was discouered, in Rome, they laide great wagers, which was most to be praised, the minde of Pessenius for his haughtie attempt, or the patience of Iulianus that could dissemble the same. Also at that time the armies were gouerned in Illyria, by a capteine named Septimius Seuerus, borne in Africa, and bred in Rome, which in iustice was verie right, in condition sharpe, and in martial affaires most fortunate. This Septimius Seuerus from the houre he had intelligence of the death of the Emperour Pertinax, and that in his place succeeded Iulianus, would neither receiue letter, either

either obey commaundement, that came from Iulianus, either else from the Senate: saying, that they for consenting, and he for buying the Empire, were inabilitate of all power to commaund or to gouerne: and further, an euil friend was Iulianus vnto Pertinax, that sold his blond vnto enimies, and bought his Empire for money. But the case was thus, that Pescenius in Assyria, and Seuerus in Illyria, reuolted with all their armies against Iulianus: whereof being aduertised, they saye that he said: the gods be pleased to retaine in my seruice, all such as be in peace: small is my care, if the rest had taken their leaue. Although Iulianus saide thus much openly, secretely he conceiued the contrarie, which was afterwardes better knowen by his workes which he did, then by the words which he saide. If Seuerus had deadly hatred vnto Iulianus, moste surely Iulianus was not in loue with Seuerus: for presently, when he vnderstood that he had rebelled against him, he framed and brought to passe in the Senate, that Seuerus was proclaimed a publique enimie of the people of Rome, and all his armie dispatched and condemned. The Senate prouided at the request of Iulianus, that Vespertinus Candidus, a man both olde & a Consul should departe to Assyria & Illyria: which was not onely disobeyed in the armies, but also not so much as heard: the cause therof was, the infamous Ambassage which he brought: & because afore time, he was much hated being a Pretor in the warres. After Vespertinus was returned vnto Rome, they sent againe vnto Illyria, Valerius Catulus, but to small purpose: for if they disobeyed the prouisions of Candidus, at Valerius they ran with lances. Candidus & Valerius being returned to Rome, Iulianus and the Senate sent againe Aquilius Centurius, who had comaundement to kil Seuerus, & that by any manner ý he might: that is to say, either fighting w̃ him in the field, or secretely to giue him poison. Seuerus being aduised, howe the Emperour Iulianus and the Senate had sent the third time Aquilius against him, determined to bring forth his armies

from Illyria, and to come to Rome to seeke Iulianus: and marched with so greate speede vppon the way, that when Aquilus came forth of Rome, Seuerus was then in the confines of Italie. Incredible was the feare that fell on ỹ Romanes, after they vnderstood that Seuerus was come against them with all his armies: and their terrour was increased, to consider that he was a capteine of Rome, which vntil that time, had bene a defender of the cõmon wealth, and also for that he had made so great speede vpon the way, and leade his armies with so great reformation, that in one and the selfe same day, they heard of his arriuall, and also beheld him in the face. The Capuans sent a solemne ambassage vnto Seuerus, to be aduertised of the purpose of his iourney, and to offer him their help and assistance: whome Seuerus receiued with great benignitie, and saide these wordes in greate secrecie. I come not to destroye Italie, either haue I taken armour to go against my mother Rome: the ende of my comming is for three thinges: which is to weete, to rescue the Empire from the tyrant Iulianus, to reuenge the death of the Emperour Pertinax, that was old & honourable, & to reforme the Senate, of such as dare amongest them to aduenture to giue euil counsel: for that I conceiue to serue my common wealth no lesse, in clensing vices, then defending enimies. That which Seuerus saide vnto the Ambassadours of Capua in secrete, presently they discouered openly: which being vnderstood in Rome, the Senatours receiued thereof greate sorrowe, and the people greate pleasure: because the one did hope to attaine libertie, and the other did feare chastisement.

Iulianus gathered all his men of warre, to the vttermost of his power, and sent them against Seuerus, vnder the conduction of Tullius Crispinus: the which, after he was aduertised that Seuerus had taken Rauenna, and all the countrie adioyning, returned vnto Rome: which feminine acte gaue dismaye vnto Iulianus, and courage vnto Seuerus.

Iulianus

Iulianus also commaunded a musster to be made in the field of Mars, of all the Pretorian armies, and he him selfe came to take a view, and an accompt of them, conferring such as came vnto the musster, with the names that were written and receiued money at the paye: of three partes, there appeared not one: whereof Iulianus collected, that Seuerus came not onely with confidence of such as he lead with him, but also of them which remained in Rome.

Greate pleasure was it vnto the popular sorte, to beholde howe Iulianus was forsaken of his capteines, and not attended on of his Pretorians: because euery daye their hatred did increase against him, and their loue with Seuerus. Notwithstanding Iulianus procured munition & victuals, repaired the walles, made trenches, aduaunced engins, and sent scoutes into the fieldes: all which deuises smally profited the sorrowfull Emperour Iulianus: for if he helde the walles of Rome, his enimies possessed the heartes of the Romaines. Iulianus suspecting that Letus and Martianus being two Consuls, and men of greate reputation, should practise with Seuerus, commaunded them to be slaine, without accusation or iudgement.

CHAP. V.

¶Howe by the commaundement of the Senate, the Emperour Iulianus was slaine.

VNtill Iulianus had slaine the afore named noble Consuls, the Romaines reputed him onely couetous and ambitious, but from thencefworth they published him to be couetous, ambitious, suspicious, and cruell: for it was a lawe amongest them much vsed, to take away the life of no citizen of Rome, before he were heard to saye for him selfe. After that Iulianus perceiued the Senate to growe sorrowfull, and the people escandalized, for the death of

Letus and Martianus, he came to greate repentance, although to small purpose: for it was past his handes to giue life vnto the dead, either to reconcile him selfe into the grace and fauour of the liuing. Princes and ministers of iustice ought to be very muche considered, and no lesse aduised, in crediting their suspicions, and to auoide either choler or rashenesse in their executions: to the ende, that after it happen not, that for the deedes of one daye, they haue to remedie and also to bewaile all the dayes of their life.

With greate instance Iulianus requested the Senate, that they with the Priestes and vestall virgins would mete Seuerus and his armie with procession, to see if they might pacifie with prayers whome they might not resist with armes. This suite the Consul Faustius resisted, saying, that it were not conuenient, that the sacred Senate, either the Priestes of the temples, or the holie vestall virgins, should intend matters of warre: for the office of such was to solicite the Gods to giue vs peace: and further, the Consul Faustius saide: he that possesseth an Empire, and knoweth not to defend an Empire, containeth the indignitie of an Empire. This answere was no lesse displeasant vnto Iulianus, then pleasant vnto the Senatours, whereby he obteined not, that which he desired, and they grewe vnbridled to speake at large. Iulianus not contented with that which was done, but called in secret certeine his capteines and friendes, whome he commaunded soudeinly to enter armed into the Senate, and to saye vnto the Senatours, that of two thinges they had to make choyce, that is to say: to lose their liues, or else to obey his commaundementes. Amongest the other capteines there was one named Crispinus, which saide vnto Iulianus, he is to be thought no small enimie of thine, that gaue this counsell: because, if thou be well aduised, for thy loue the Senate haue declared them selues to be an enimie to Seuerus; and nowe, if thou attempt to kil them,

they

they will aunſwere, that they will obey thée: and on the other parte, they will declare Seuerus to be a friende vnto the people, and thou an enimie vnto Seuerus: and further, the Gods neuer permitte, that thou ſhouldeſt giue forth any ſuch commaundement, or that I ſhould perfourme it: for, if he be euil that giueth euil counſell, more vile is he that executeth the ſame. Iulianus chaunging his conceite, practiſed with the Senate, that he woulde yelde vp the Empire vnto whome it might pleaſe them: which they liked verie well, but durſt not at that preſent to debate therein: for Seuerus at that time was ſo neare vnto Rome, that it was rather in his handes to take the Empire, then to receiue it at the handes of the Senate. Iulianus forgate not to ſende his Capteine Criſpinus againſt Seuerus: againſt whome, Seuerus ſent another capteine named Iulius Lucius, who ouercame in the battaile, and ſlewe Criſpinus.

When Iulianus conſidered howe his enimies preuailed, and his friendes did forſake him, he purpoſed to take the aduiſe of Witches, inchaunters, and ſoothſayers, to vnderſtand his deſtinies, and the Fortune of Seuerus: and the caſe was thus: that after he aſſembled many Sorcerers and Magicians in his owne houſe, he made them practiſe many ſorceries and inchauntments, and to ſing and praye many filthie, terrible, and fowle thinges. And (as they after reported which were preſent) he him ſelfe chaunged countenaunce, and with ſtaring hayres, diſcouered him ſelf to be in great terrour. Iulianus came vnto the Senatours, crauing their aduiſe, howe he ſhould prouide and behaue him ſelfe: for that Seuerus approched, and fauoured of Fortune, who had him in contempt.

None of the Senatours aunſwered one worde, but the Cõſul Geminus, which ſaid: neither art thou worthie of counſell, or deſerueſt remedie, ſince thou haſt forſaken the Senators, which ſhould haue giuẽ thee counſell, and

went est vnto Sorcerers, who could not but deceiue: for that in such a case, being inuironed with finister fortune it had beene more sounde and sure counsell, to haue gone vnto the priestes, to haue pacified the Gods with their sacrifices, then vnto sorcerers which by witchcrafts should leade thee into their indignation. Iulianus sent vnto Capua, all his guarde, & the swoorde players of Rome, whose capteines were Lelius Titianus, and Claudianus Pompeyanus, which he did to the ende Seuerus shoulde thinke, that since he had courage to sende to offende him, he should haue no lesse to abide him. The father in lawe of Iulianus was named Aratmensis, whome Iulianus persuaded and requested to take halfe the Empire, in suche wise, that bothe should haue bene intituled Emperours of Rome: and ioyntly therewith sware and affirmed, that he did it not to remedie the necessitie wherein he stoode: but for greate good wil which he did beare him: who aunswered, this which thou sayest, Iulianus, be thou assured, that I will neither do it, either do I loue, but yeketh mee to heare it: because to gouerne the Empire I am blinde, to traueile I am weake, and to inioye it am become olde: and much more respecting the age which I possesse, and the trauels which I haue passed: I am more apte to make peace with the Gods, then to take warres in hande against men.

All the men of warre that were in Etruria, did passe vnto the seruice of Seuerus, whome he would not by any meanes receiue, vntil they had sworne to be innocent of the death of Pertinax. Seuerus at the breake of the day, discouered him selfe with all his armies, two leagues from Rome: whiche being knowen vnto the Senate, ioyntly they agreed to determine two thinges: whiche is to weete, to remoue Iulianus from the Empire, and to depriue him of his life, and in his place to elect Seuerus Emperour.

Then one of the Senatours came foorth from the Senate, and published with open voice vnto the people, that

that they should hold it for certeine, that by the authoritie of the sacred Senat, Iulianus was depriued of the Empire, and in his stæde Seuerus elected Emperour. Great was the ioy that the people receiued, when they heard Iulianus to be depriued of the Empire: and presently at the instant who best might, made most hast to receiue the newe Emperour: and none passed by Iulianus house, that threw not stones at the windowes, and spat not vppon the walles. At the houre that the Senate went forth to receiue Seuerus, they sent a Gentleman to kill Iulianus, who expressing the sorrowful ambassage which he brought, with many teares Iulianus requested that he might not be slaine, before hee had seene Seuerus: but the gentleman durst do no lesse, then to cut off his head, because the Senate stayed at the porte Salaria, and had sworne not to procæde to receiue Seuerus, vntill they were certeinly aduertised, that Iulianus was slaine. The vnfortunate Emperour Iulianus being dead, his wife Malia and his daughter Escutilia toke the body, & buried him in a Sepulcher of his great graundfather, on the right hand of the way of Lauinia. Iulianus was noted to be a glutton, a gamster, couetous, and ambitious: and on the other part, he was pitifull, amorous, eloquent, graue, and subtile. He liued 56. yeares and 4. monethes: he reigned 11. monethes and 5. dayes. After his death they did neither giue his body honourable funeralls, or contemned his Sepulcher. This was the end of Iulianus, who being old, honourable, & rich,

would for the exchaunge of the Empire, giue his goods, aduenture his fame, and lose his life.

The life of the Emperour Seuerus, compiled by syr Anthonie of Gueuara, bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, and counseller, vnto the Emperour Charles the fift.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the linage and countrie of the Emperour Seuerus.

THE auncient linage of the Emperour Seuerus was of Africa, his grandfather was named Fuluius Pius, and his grandmother Agrippa, which came and died in Lepe, an auncient citie in Mauritania, & was destroyed in the warres of Iugurtha, & Massimila: his father was named Geta, and his mother Fuluia Pia, a people neither renowmed in armes, or glorious in bloud, either indued with riches. Seuerus was borne in Etrutio, Clarus and Seuerus being Consuls, the 4. day of April: and as his mother reported, she had with him
" a difficult childbirth, & very tedious to nourse. In his first
" infancie, he chiefly delighted to play with other children
" his fellowes, the play of Iudges: and when his lot fell to be
" Iudge, as sharpely did he chastice their trifling faultes, as
" he did afterwards chastice their errours in earnest. Hee
" learned the Greeke and latine tongues with such singular
" perfection, and was so prompt to speake, write, read, & dis-
" pute in the said tongues, as if hee had béene borne in those countries, and learned no other languages. At the age of xviij. yeres he was a publique aduocate, and defended causes in lawe: in such wise, that if he had followed Science, as hée did Warres, hée had béene no lesse renowmed in science and letters, then he was famous in armes. He was not full xx. yeares of age, when he first entered Rome: in which dayes, there reigned the right happie Marcus Aurelius, and by intercession of his kinseman Septimius Seuerus, hée had the office to register daily such as either died

or were borne in Rome: which office, although it were not profitable, yet was it an occasion of great acquaintance, & to be throughly knowen: because nightly he wēt to Court to report who was borne, or had died that day. The first night ỹ he entred Rome, by chance his host wher he lodged was reading the life of ỹ Emperour Adrian, wherin was relation of ỹ great perils which he passed, before he might atteine the Empire: Seuerus said vnto his host in iest. In trauels & perills I imitate Adrian: I hope also that I shall succede him in the Empire. By chance, as ỹ Emperour M. Aurelius made a generall & sumptuous supper vnto many noble Romans, Seuerus was amongest them, & at the time that he shuld haue taken his seat at the table, wout regard he placed him in the Emperours chaire: and when others derided him for his negligence & folly which he had comitted, Seuerus aunswered: Peace & gibe not, it is possible (my destinies may be such) that as I nowe sitt in the imperiall chaire in iest, so one day I may sit therin in earnest. Seuerus dreamed on a night, ỹ he suckt the teats of the wolfe ỹ noursed Remus and Romulus, which dreame he alwayes held for a great good signe of his future Empire. In ỹ time of his youth, he was both absolute and dissolute, especially in womens matters, & other vanities: for which causes hee was many times taken, banished, & shamed. In the offices of warre, he was placed in them all, especially the office of Questor, which he held long time: and it is said of him, that hauing by that office charge of monie, he was diligēt in recouering, & faithful in diuiding & parting therof. In ỹ moneth of January, in the 5. yeare of the Empire of M. Aurelius, it chaunced him to be Proconsul of Betica, which now in Spaine is named the kingdome of Andoloizia, where he remained ỹ space of a yeare & a halfe: in which gouernment he was no lesse loued then feared, and feared then loued.

Seuerus being Proconsul in Betica, receiued newes of his fathers death in Africa: wherupon he presently passed into Africa, partly to execute the obsequies, and to giue his father an honourable Sepulcher, and partly to take

order

order for a sister that was left vnto him, and goods whiche he did inherite. The Consul that then was resident in Africa, sent Seuerus for his Embassadour to the Sardinians, which were reuolted from the Romanes: and entering into Sardinia with certeine burning torches, according to the maner of an Embassadour of Rome, there came vnto him a townesman after the fashion of a iester, and did imbrace him, whom Seuerus commaunded to be whipt, saying: In the act of so great grauitie, trifling gibes be inconuenient. For that which this iester did, and for the disgrace which Seuerus receiued, they ordeyned in Rome, that from thence forth, Embassadours alwayes should enter all cities on horseback, as in times past they had vsed on foote. Continuing Proconsul in Africa, he would nedes vnderstand of a Mathematicia or Astronomer, how farre his fortune extended or did reach: and hauing receiued the day and houre, and also the ascendent of his natiuitie, the Astrologian being amased and terrified of the Fortune which his natiuitie did promise him, said vnto him: It is not possible that this be thy natiuitie, & therfore were it meete thou shouldest giue me thine owne, and not the natiuitie of another: for were it true, that thou wast borne vnder such a cõstellation, thou shouldest be Emperour of Rome. At the age
" of 32. yeares, hee was in Rome elected Tribune of the peo-
" ple: more for the pleasure of Marcus Aurelius whome he
" serued, then for the seruice that Seuerus had done in the
" common wealth: but afterwards he proued so toward, and
" was so vpright in causes of iustice, that it neither repented
" the cõmon wealth to haue chosen him, either Marcus Au-
" relius to haue procured the same. His Tribunal office being ended, he was named Pretor of the people: and on the day of his election, the more to aduaunce his honour, the Emperour passing throughe the streates of Rome, placed him with himselfe in the Licter: which deede was not a little reproched, of some through enuie, and of othersome thorough disdaine.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

¶ Of the offices which Seuerus held in the Empire, before he was Emperour.

THe affaires of Spaine being dispatched, Seuerus sailed into Asia: and assone as he had set his foote a land, hee departed vnto Athens: partly to behold the gouernement of the Greekes, and partly also to heare the doctrine of Philosophers: because in those dayes, they talked not of any matter more in all this world, then of the great Fortune of the Romanes, and the profound eloquẽce of the Greekes. Not a few dayes he remayned in Athens hearing the Philosophers, conferring with the Senatours, visiting temples, and viewing buildings: because naturally he was a friend of new inuentions, & desired no lesse the knowledge of antiquities. Although Seuerus of person was valiant, and Capitaine of Rome, and also of indifferent eloquence, yet they gaue him no good interteinment in all Grecia: for which cause when he came afterwardes vnto the Empire, he streightly reuenged the olde vnkindnesse which he bare vnto the Greekes, euery day diminishing their priuiledges. Being returned from Asia vnto Rome, hee was sente Embassadour vnto the prouince of Lugdune, which nowe in Fraunce, is named Lion of Sonorona: and being at that time a widower, they practised with him a marriage with a certeine Lady of noble bloud, in countenance most faire, and gratious in gesture. That Lady was named Iulia, & of royall bloud: vnto whome purposing to present iewels of great price, and finding no goldsmith sufficient to performe the same: being also aduertised of a goldsmith in Syria that excelled all men in that facultie, and doubting all messengers to be insufficient, trauelled in his owne person, to fetch the same: & as he after made report vnto his spouse, that with the rewards which he gaue vnto the goldsmith, and the charge of that voyage, hee might twise haue beene mar-

maried. The Senators sēt to reprcue Seuerus, not because he had married, but for the great iourney and large expences which he had passed for a woman: aduising him, that it was not conuenient for a citizen of Rome, to imploy his person, but to aduaunce his honour: either consume his goods, but for defence of the common wealth: whereunto Seuerus answeared, that for none of those matters wherof he was blamed, he either deserued blame or punishmēt: because without all comparison, much more was the merite of that Lady with whom he was married, then the expences or trauells which for her seruice he had suffered. And further he said: it seemeth vnto mée (fathers conscript) that for this acte I deserue honour, & no blame, since thereby ariseth vnto Rome, both honour and profite: because strange kingdoms haue séene, that Captaines of Rome, to obteine riches, haue strēgth & skil, and to spend them haue noble minds. Seuerus stayed iointly 3. yeares in Fraunce, both loued and feared, & no lesse reuerenced of the Frenchmen: not onely for that he was iust in iudgment, and liberal in expences, but aboue the rest, in that he was of a sincere life. The Calends of Januarie being come, (at what time in Rome they diuide their offices) the Proconsulship of Sicylia was alletted vnto Seuerus, wherof he receiued no smal griefe, partly for that he found himself very wel placed in Fraunce, & feared the condition of the Sicylians. Being resident in the Ile of Sicyl, he was accused by his enimies of Rome, that he did not exercise the gouernement of the common wealth, so much as the search of southsayers, who should be Emperour of Rome: because in those dayes Commodus was Emperour of Rome, and all men held it for certaine, that for his wickednesse he should be slaine, or himselfe, for his great vitiousnes, should die. Commodus receiued great displeasure when hee vnderstode, that being (as hee was) aliue, and but a young man, Seuerus should séeke for the succession of his Empire: for which cause Seuerus was forced presently to depart from Sicyl, & come to Rome, there to discouer and make proófe of his innocencie:

nocencie: because the daunger was no greater, then losse of honour and life. Presently vppon his arriuall at Rome, he did yéeld himselfe vnto the gaile Mamortina, and would not depart from thence, vntill by publique sentence his innocencie was vttered, and his accusers depriued of their liues. Two monethes after these matters passed, the Calends of Januarie were come, in which Seuerus was elected Consul, ioyntly with Apuleius Rufinus: the day that this was published, they say that Seuerus said. This day it is manifested in mee, that men neither know what prosperities be conuenient for them, either what aduersities doe impeache them: and I say it for this cause, for that criminally I was accused in Rome, and my person prisoner in the place of malefactours: whereof there proceded, that I departed from Sicyl, came to Rome, giue safetie vnto my life, augment my goods, recouer fame, take vengeance of mine enimies, and obtaine the Consulshipof the common wealth.

The time passed of his Consulship, hee stode an whole yeare without any office: and as he afterwards said many times, the best and merriest dayes of all his life, were conteined in that yeare, wherein he had no office in the cõmon wealth. In those dayes, Letus the Captaine of the guard was greatly in fauour with ỹ Emperour Commodus: by whose intercession they cõmended the garrisons of Germanie vnto Seuerus, who so skilfully behaued himselfe in that iourney, that he returned 2. yeares after vnto Rome with great honour, & no smal riches. At his returne vnto Rome, Seuerus bought a certaine compasse of land wherein to till for corne, and to fæde and brædе cattell, and alongest the riuer Tiber hee bought certaine stately and fertil gardens, where hee builte houses of great pride, which long time after were called Seuerians.

At a certaine time supping in these gardens vppon the grasse, where the freshnesse of the grœne was verye great, and victualls very small, the case was thus. His owne sonne, of the age of fiue yeares, did giue and

diuide

" diuide vnto all persons, of all thinges that were there, vn-
" to whome the father said: temper thy hand (sonne) in re-
" parting, because thou hast no reall riches to giue. The
" childe made aunswere: if I haue them not nowe when I
" am a child, I shall haue them when I am a man. All men
" present wondered, considering the age of the child, that so
" graue an aunsweare should proceede from so tender youth.

CHAP. III.

¶ How the Pretorians did electe him Emperour.

IN the 10. yeare of the Empire of Commodus, Seuerus was sent in message vnto the prouince of Germanie: in which Ambassage, he obteyned much honour, and no small wealth: for naturally he was of great dispatch in affaires, and skilfull to gather monie. Hée was resident in Germanie the space of three yeares, that is to say, vntill in Rome they had slaine the Emperour Commodus: of whose death he had great pleasure, and of the election of Pertinax no lesse ioy: because the liuing was his most special friend, and the dead his mortall enimie. Not many monethes after he receiued newes how ỹ Emperour Pertinax was slaine by the Pretorians, and that hée (for very monie) had bought the Empire, he was much grieued with the death of ỹ one and the election of the other. Seuerus was aduertised how Iulianus was in great hatred of the people, for merchandizing of the Empire: presently at the instant the men of warre that he had with him, declared him Emperour: whiche was done in a citie named Carunto, on the xii. day of the moneth of August. That day whereon the armies did aduaunce him as Emperour, he gaue and diuided amongst them so great summes of monie, as neuer any Emperour had done afore time: for he gaue, not onely all his owne, but also the treasure of his friends. With great spéde Seuerus sent vnto ỹ armies of Illyria in Pannonia, in Spaine, Fraunce,

Fraunce, and Britaine, and gaue them to vnderſtand how Pertinax was dead, that Iulianus had bought the Empire, and that the armies of Germanie had elected him Emperour: but that hée would not accept the ſame, vnleſſe they (as true defenders of ỹ Empire) would conſent vnto their election: wherein all, with one conformitie, did alowe that election which the Germaines had made of Seuerus, and vtterly did annihilate all conſents and elections that had or might be to the aduauncement of the Empire of Iulianus: and vppon condition that Seuerus ſhould firſt be ſworne, to reuenge the death of the good Emperour Pertinax: and to giue his fauour vnto the men of warre. Preſently when ỹ Seuerus ſawe his Empire confirmed by the men of warre, ſpédily he toke his way towards Rome: vpon which way not onely he had no reſiſtance, but in all places was receiued with great ioy. Two Conſuls, 100. Senatours, 30. Queſtors, 22. Iudges, 14. Tribunes, 10. Pretours. 400. prieſtes, and 50. veſtal virgins, came forth to receiue Seuerus: vnto whom he ſent to giue vnderſtanding, that if they would behold his face milde, that all perſons of al armour, either open or ſecret, ſhould diſarme themſelues: for that it was ſufficient that he was of the warres, and they to receiue him in peace. They being perſons of ſo great honour, riches, and auncient, that came forth to receiue him, were not a litle deſpited, that Seuerus ſhould commaund them to be diſarmed, but in the end they accompliſhed that which was commaunded them, and from thenceforth conceiued againſt Seuerus mortall hatred: becauſe if they diſarmed their perſons of armour, they did arme their hartes with malice. And as Seuerus was proud with his Empire, and the Conſuls and Senatours wiſe and aduiſed, neither did he perceiue them to be offẽded, either did they diſcouer themſelues to be grieued or deſpited: for that, if they had patience to ſuffer the iniurie, they wãted not wiſedome to diſſemble the ſame. As Seuerus was ſubtile and ſkilful, he did two thinges before he entered Rome, wherewith hée greatly wan the fauour of the common people: wherof the

first was, that he publikely changed his ouer name, which is to wit, that as he afore time was named Septimius Seuerus, after he was named Seuerus Pertinax: & this he did, to the end al men should perceiue, ỹ taking the name of the good Emperour Pertinax, he would likewise folow ỹ steps of his good life, and profite himselfe by his good doctrine: for Pertinax was not only loued as a man, but also adored as a God. And the second thing which he did, was, to cõmaund al the bands of Pretorians, which were the men at armes which guarded Rome, that leauing all armour, they should come & do him reuerence: which were the men ỹ had slaine th'emperour Pertinax, not for his owne deseruing, but for that he consented not to their wickednes. Seuerus secretly had agreed with his armie, that they should haue regard to compasse them round, in such wise, ỹ finding them vnarmed, they should stop al meanes to recouer ỹ same for their defence: either place of safetie to flie vnto. And now, when they stood all vnarmed, & compassed, Seuerus commaunded a general silence thorough out his armie, and directed his words vnto those homicides or manslears, speaking after this maner.

CHAP. IIII.

¶How he reuenged the death of the good Emperour Pertinax.

ALthough al humaine things be subiect vnto vanitie & mutabilitie: yet this preeminẽce haue ỹ gods aboue men, ỹ al things being subiect to changing and variablenes, they remaine immutable: & al things perishing & finishing, they for euer do continue: because there is nothing perpetual, but such things, vnto whiche the gods do giue perpetuitie. The great Romaine Empire much resẽbleth the immortal gods of heauen: because all the kingdomes of the earth be finishing & haue

haue their ends, but she is perpetual: all are weake, and she strong: all be subiect, she at libertie: all vanquished, and she inuincible: finally, she is she, ẏ neuer suffered her better, or endured another ẏ was her equal. And as it is most true, ẏ the gods neuer giue reward without a preceding merit: so do they not giue punishment without some fault in him, whom they chastise: wher of it followeth, ẏ since the gods haue giuen vnto the Romanes so many and so great triūphes, there ought to be in them many & very notable deseruings. There be two things which cause the Romans to hold frēdship with ẏ gods, & to be lords of mē, which is to wit, great worshippers of temples, and conseruers of people in iustice: for that countrie where temples be not honoured, and the wicked chastised, may be better termed a den of theeues, then a kingdome of good men. Ye all vnderstand that be here present, howe ye haue slaine the Emperour Pertinax, a mā most surely both holy and most holy, because the greatnes of the Empire, being conferred with the sinceritie of his deseruing, it had not beene much for him, but rather a smal reward, to haue beene Lord of the whole world. In this deede ye haue offended the gods, escandalized men, committed treason vnto your Lord, defamed your countrie, troubled your common wealth, and brought all Rome vnto confusion, in such wise, that your fault being so exceeding, it may not deserue any parcialitie in punishment.

Now that ye haue slaine him, is it as if ye had slaine Caligula, Nero, Sergius, Vitellius, Domitiā, or Commod⁹: no, but Pertinax, which was one of the princes most without reprehēsion, that euer reigned in ẏ Romaine Empire. As princes be few & wilful, so it is a great ven-

venture, to chance on ſuch as be good: & ſo much the more deſerue ye the greater paine, as the good Pertinax was profitable vnto the common wealth. Vnto whome ſhall Rome aduenture to commit her truſt, ſince they which were appointed for her guard, haue ſet her a ſale? O treaſon neuer thought of! Oh wickednes neuer heard of! to kill the Emperour, and to ſell the Empire. After the vaſſals haue ſlaine their Lord, and the natiues of the countrie haue ſold their common wealth, I know not why the gods cõmaund not the ground to ſwallow you vp, and preſently put not fire into Rome to conſume it: for, after ſo great an infamie, Rome ought neuer more to be named in this world. Who ſhould haue ſaid to Quintus Cincinatus, Numa Pompilius, Camillus, Marcus Fabritius, Mutius Scæuola, Silla, Marius, Scipio, Iulius Cæſar, Auguſtus, Germanicus (who with great and many triumphes did both beautifie and magnifie Rome) that ye ſhould haue ſet Rome in open ſale? I firmely beleeue, and am out of doubte, that they would haue died of pure ſorrowe: or elſe would haue ſlaine your progenitours from whom ye are deſcended. Frõ the time I departed out of Germanie, I came muſing vppon the way, what puniſhment I ſhould giue you: for of the one part, if I ſuffer euery one of you with his life, it redoundeth to the ſcandal of the common wealth: and if I would take the ſame from you, the paine is very ſmal, in reſpecte of your extreme fault: for vnto one that is euil, they doe him no ſmall benefite, to rid him out of this world. I cõmaund your noſes to be ſlit, your tongues to be boared, your garments beneth the waſt to be cut off, and your beards halfe ſhauen: yee ſhall liue without honour, credite,

dite, or libertie as ſlaues & bondmen in the common wealth: in ſuch wiſe, that ye ſhall not die as the good do vſe to die, to the end to liue: but ye ſhal liue as the wicked do liue, to the end to die. Neither doe I ſuffer you to liue, becauſe ye deſerue life: but for that I will not ſtaine my fame with your filthie bloud. If in giuing you al death, I might giue the good Pertinax his life: not onely yours, but alſo right willingly would I offer mine owne: becauſe there is no vent more iuſt, then ỹ one good life (by ỹ exchange of many wicked liues) might be bought & redemed. If the gods would permit, that at the houre I ſhould cõmaunde ye to bee ſlaine, ye ſhould reuiue and recouer life, a thouſand times would I take away your liues, becauſe the horror of your offence deſerueth a thouſãd deathes: but ſince loſſe of life, in a momẽt, doth deliuer the malefactour of his ſcourge and torment, and afterwardes no other meane remayning to take vengeaunce: it is more iuſt that ye ſhould liue euery day deſiring death, then that ye ſhould die abhorring life. There is nothing more iuſt, then to kil him that killeth: but I commaund not that ye be ſlaine, although ye durſt kill the good Pertinax: and this I do not, to the end to do no iuſtice, either to doe you good or pleaſure: but for that many yeares ye ſhall haue time to bewaile your wretched life, and his innocent death.

CHAP. V.

¶Of thinges that he did in Rome, preſently after he was Emperour.

AFter that Seuerus had ſaid and finiſhed his ſpeach, and cõdemned and baniſhed the murtherers of the Empe-

rour Pertinax, he determined to enter Rome, and his receyuing was mixt with ioy and sorow: because of the one part seing him so great a frend of iustice, they reioyced: and on the other part to sée him cõpassed with so great armies, they feared him. Presently vpon his entrie into Rome, he visited ỹ temples (according to the custome of the Romane Emperours) and there he offered no small, but generous & sumptuous sacrifices. Although in his receyuing, a great part of the day was spent, and in visiting temples the rest was consumed, and now whẽ it was night, he was requested of all men to take his ease, and to withdrawe vnto his palace: yet he would in no wise consent, vntil he had visited the Sepulcher of the good Marcus Aurelius: where he remained a great space vppon his knées, and poured forth many lamentable teares. The nert day he went vnto the high Capitol, where all the Senate was assembled, and there he spake vnto all the Senatours, Consuls, and all other Romane officers: to whome he said many good words, and gaue them great hope of many rewards. All the people of Rome were astonied, & terrified, to behold the great audacitie and fortune of Seuerus: which proceeded of consideration howe without daunger, and lesse trauell, hée obteyned the Empire: for that he gat it not by sheding others bloud, neither by the exchange of his owne proper goodes. The first day that Seuerus spake in the Senate, he made a solemne vow before them all: Neuer to kill any Romane, if he were not iudged by iustice: or to take the goods of any person, if by the fiscal he were not condemned. If it had bëne found in Seuerus workes, which hé sware that day in wordes, namely, that they might not accuse him of crueltie, either note him of couetousnes, it had bëne a great weale for the Romane Empire: for there is nothing wherwith princes doe more destroy their common wealthes, and also staine their persons, then to bee giuen to reuenge their owne proper iniuries, and couetous of other mens goodes. Forthwith at his beginning, Seuerus did shew himselfe milde, benigne, pitifull, liberall, valiant hartted,

ted, affable, gratious, and humaine, imbracing his familiars, ioying and laughing with straungers: in such wise, that the Romanes went after him, hearing what he said, and praising what he did. If in humaine affaires he were prouident, in diuine matters surely he was not negligent: for that euery day hée visited temples, honoured priestes, offered sacrifices, repaired edifices, heard orphans and afflicted: in such wise, that in victories they compared him vnto Iulius Cæsar, in humaine policies to Augustus, and in diuine thinges to Pompilius. The old Senatours and auncient Romanes, that had béen bred with Seuerus from their youth, were amased to sée how his euil condition was changed: and on the other part they thought with themselues, that all which he did was but fained: for of his owne naturall condition, he was subtile, warie, milde, and double: and did know how to denie his owne will for a time, in that which hée wished, to doe afterwardes with all men all that he desired. It is a point of wise and skilfull men, to ouercome their owne wills in small matters: afterwardes to drawe others after them for causes of greater importaunce.

Although there bee more credite to bee giuen to that which wée sée, then vnto that which wée suspect: yet in this case they were more deceiued, that praised Seuerus in his good woorkes, then those which did suspecte him for his old subtilties: for that in shorte space they vnderstode in him great cruelties, and no lesse disordinate couetousnesse. Those that from their youth bee not bredd in vertuous woorkes, or that naturally of themselues bee not of good condition, they may for a time deceiue some persons with their guiles: but in the end their malice commeth to the notice of all men: all which was experimented in Seuerus, who vsed violence with his owne proper nature, vntill hée sawe himselfe in possession of the common wealth. The first office that hée gaue in Rome, was vnto Flauius Iuuenal, whome hee made Praetor of the people: of whiche prouision of the one part he pleased all men, because Flauius was

us was a vertuous person: and on the other parte it did grieue them, because he was seruaunt vnto Iulianus. The whole armie that Seuerus led with him, he also brought into the citie of Rome: and being in quantitie great, and of condition proud, they might not be contained within the citie: for which cause they lodged not onely in houses priuileged, and in sacred temples, but forceably brake vp dores and entred houses. The Romanes receiued the same for a very great iniurie, because they onely felt not the despight done vnto their persons, but also did bewaile the breach & losse of their liberties. Three dayes after Seuerus entered Rome, the captaines of his armies sent to demaund of the Senate, to haue giuen them an hundred thousand pesants of gold, which were due vnto them: for that in times past, so much was giuen vnto them that first entered with the Emperour Augustus. At the houre when ỹ captaines sent these words vnto the Senat, presently and ioyntly they armed themselues, and marched vnto the field, swearing and forswearing, by the life of Seuerus, & by the world of Marcus, that if it were not giuen that day, at night they would sack Rome. After that Seuerus heard, that his armie was in readinesse in the field of Mars, and without his cõmaundement, he was not a litle escandalized, thinking there had bæne some treason against him amongest ỹ people: but the truth being knowen, he requested them to be pacified, and to disarme themselues, saying: that it proceeded not of wise Captaines, but of seditious persons, to demaund with threatenings, that which would be giuen by request. Seuerus saw himselfe in great trauell, to finish agræment betwixt the one & the other: but in the end giuing them some monie out of his owne coffers, and some from the common wealth, he brought them all to a vnitie: which was, ỹ vnto the Captaines was giuen lesse then they demaunded, and the Romanes paid somewhat more then they offered. Before all things, Seuerus did celebrate the obsequies of Pertinax: whereat all the Romanes were present, and offered that day vnto the Gods great sacrifices, accompting

Pertinax amongest the Gods, and placeing Priestes to do sacrifices vpon the sepulchre, that for euermore should susteine his memorie. When Seuerus entred the Empire, he found many rents of ỹ treasurie morgaged, which is to wéete, the royall patrimonie, wherein he gaue order for the redéeming thereof, to be reduced vnto the royall crowne. Seuerus had two daughters of ripe age, the one of xxb. the other of xxx. yeres, whome he married within twentie dayes after he came to Rome, the one with Prolus, and the other with Laertius, men of greate wealthe and riches, and generous in bloud. Seuerus offered his sonne Prolus the office of Censor, which he refused, saying, that he fought not to be sonne in lawe vnto the Emperour, to be a scourge of euill men: but to be serued of good men. Seuerus made bothe his sonnes in lawe Consuls, and about Rome he bought them great rentes, and also gaue them large summes of money to spend, and to his daughters he gaue Jewels, wherewith to honour them.

CHAP. VI.

¶Howe the Emperour Seuerus passed into Asia against capteine Pessenius that rebelled against him.

One of the famous capteines that rebelled against the Emperour Iulianus, as hath béene recounted in his life, was Pessenius Niger, who with the armies that were in Assyria, did gouerne and rule all Asia. Seuerus rose in Germanie, and Pessenius in Asia: and notwithstãding they were both traitours vnto their Lorde, the difference betwixt them was, that Seuerus for his comming vnto Rome, they aduaunced vnto the Empire: and Pessenius for remaining at his ease in Asia, was condemned for a traitour. At the houre that Iulianus his death was published, presently Pessenius inuested him selfe with the

title of Emperour and Augustus: in such wise, that Seuerus in Europa, and Pessenius in Asia, had diuided betwirt them selues all countries and prouinces: and much more the one from the other had diuided their willes & mindes. Pessenius was very wel aduertised in Asia, howe Seuerus had entred Rome with a great power: and was in state of gouernement as naturall Emperour of the common wealth: but neither for letters that were written vnto him, or for any thing that might be saide vnto him, would he obey Seuerus, or muche lesse shewe any feare of him. Pessenius was grosse of person, valiant, warlike, and of al men, with whome he dealt, very well liked: and surely, if he lost the Empire, it was not for want of friendes in Rome, but that he abounded with vices in Asia. After that Seuerus sawe, that neither for threateninges, either for promises that he made, or for letters that he wrote, he might not drawe Pessenius Niger vnto his seruice, he determined to conquer him as an enimie: although (as he afterwardes saide) he wished not with him to come in contention: because Pessenius was a friende in earnest, and no enimie in iest.

Seuerus commaunded a musster to be taken of all the men he had, and toke the names of all persons that he might haue with him out of Italie, commaundinge them to prepare, and to pay his officers, & that all thinges should be done with moste spædie diligence: for his intent was to enter with so greate haste into Asia, that his arriuall, and the newes thereof, at one instant, might appeare vnto Pessenius.

All the armies of Illyria which he had left in Thracia, he commaunded to passe into Asia: and all the Senatours, all the warrelike officers of Rome, all the riche men, and all the sonnes of mightie and greate Lordes that were in Italie, he ledde with him in that warre.

» He armed in the Sea Mediterrane an hundred galleys,
» and also rigged forth two hundreth shippes, fiftie barkes,
» and innumerable foystes: all which went laden with

men,

men, armour, and victuals: in such wise, that in respecte of his greatnesse and potencie, there was none that woulde encounter with him by lande, either abide at the Sea.

Onelie xxx. dayes Seuerus was in Rome, dispatchinge with the Senate, he departed vnto the porte of Hostia, to beholde his nauie, and from thence he departed to Nola in Campania, where his armye was assembled, where he added many thinges that wanted, and also remoued many thinges that were superfluous: because in thinges of greate importance, he was not satisfied to giue them in charge to men of experience: but that he woulde see and beholde them with his owne proper eyes. When Pessenius Niger heard the newes, howe Seuerus came against him by sea and lande: they say that he saide, these woordes: If the destinies be bente against me, small may it auaile me, that men fauour mee: and if Gods be pleased to help me mē may little hinder me. And further he saide: Seuerus is not satisfied to haue slaine his Lorde Iulianus, and to vsurpe the Empire, but hath made mee an enimie vnto the people of Rome: but I beseche the immortall Gods, that if it shal not please them to giue me victorie in this warre, that Seuerus may bee conquered, when hee moste desireth to ouercome. Although Pessenius commended his fortune into the handes of God, notwithstanding he left not to seeke the aide of men: & to this ende he did write and send Ambassadours, vnto the kinge of the Parthians, to the king of the Arthabanes, and to the king of the Armenians to succour him with men & money, because Seuerus came with a determinate minde to destroy them all.

The kinge of the Armenians aunswearedthe Ambassadours of Pessenius Niger, that he woulde neither helpe the one, or offende the other, but defende and conserue his owne kingdome: moued thereunto, for that Pessenius was his friende, and Seuerus not his enimie.

The kinge of Parthians, presently sente his letters throughe

throughout his kingdome, commaunding them to repaire vnto Pessenius, and refuse Seuerus: which he did not for the narrowe friendshipp that he helde with Pessenius, but for the auncient enimitie that he did beare vnto the Romane Empire. The king of Arthabanes sent vnto Pessenius, ten thousand archers with crossebowes, all natiues of the prouinces of Bersezana, which throughout the worlde were much renowmed, and in the warres no lesse feared, because they were of valiant mindes in fight, and exceeding readie in shooting. Further, Pessenius Niger commaunded his armie to be renewed with twentie thousand fotemen, and sixe thousand horsemen, whereof the moste parte being taken out of Antioche (where the people be most feeble) their names being registred, and receiuing paye, neuer afterwardes came to the warres. Vnto all them that vsed this guyle, Seuerus afterwardes gaue great punishment: not for that they had beene traytours vnto Pessenius, but for example to terrifie others. Vpon the mount Taurus parte of Cappadocia and Sicyl, Pessenius, as a man of experience in martiall affaires, prouided that the woodes were feld vpon the toppes of mounteines, and in streightes, and most perillous places made strong watche and warde, in such wise, that no enimie might approche, that was not seene: or passe, that were not slaine. In those dayes, there was not in all Thracia a citie more opulent then was Byzantio, nowe named Cõstantinople, which in buildinges did exceede all cities of Asia, and in fertilitie was equall with the best in Europa. Amongest other thinges conteined therein that was faire to beholde, and much to be praised, were the walles, the stones whereof were brought from Mylesius, curiously squared, as if it had beene timber sawen with a sawe: which was the cause that the wall being made of many stones, the whole wall seemed but one stone. Although with the calamities of time, the walles be nowe ruinated: yet notwithstanding, of the same there remaineth some steppes and signes: in the viewe whereof there is

none

none but wil praise the witt of them that made it: & curse the handes of them that did subuert it. When Pessenius sawe him selfe a Lorde so absolute of all Asia, and accompanied with so many & so noble men of warre, he thought him selfe sure of the victorie: but as in such cases, that which Fortune guydeth, is farre differēt from that which the person desireth: so, very cōtrarie to his former purpose it afterwardes succéeded.

CHAP. VII.

¶Of the warres that passed betwixt Pessenius and Seuerus in Asia.

IT was great griefe vnto Seuerus, when he vnderstoode howe Pessenius was in so greate readinesse, that thought not onely to defende, but publiquely to offende. Seuerus being certified that Pessenius was in possession of ỹ greate citie Byzantio, marched with more spéede, with intent to batter the same, before Pessenius might come to the succour thereof: for that by secrete practises, Seuerus had within the citie newe friendes: and Pessenius in gouernement had recouered some enimies. Neither the intelligences which Seuerus practised secretely, either the diligences whiche he vsed publiquely, might profite him to obteine Byzantio: which when he vnderstoode, he trauailed to recouer another citie not farre from thence, named Cyzica: which was both rockie and compassed with marrishes, that is to saye, it stoode vppon a rocke, & inuironed with a riuer. Pessenius had for his capteine generall of all his hostes, a certeine knight named Emilianus, in whome he reposed confidence, not onely for matters of warre, but also for expedition of causes of peace, for that he had bothe wisedome for the one, and fortitude for the other. The capteine Emilianus put him selfe into the citie of Cyzica, whē presently after, the souldiours of Seuerus came to besiege it. There was betwixt both the armies at diuers times,

diuers

diuers encounters, & repulses, wherin Fortune indifferētly discouered her selfe vnto either partie: for at all times, when they fought at the wall, Seuerus side had the worse: but when they fought in the field, Pessenius bandes had ỹ repulse. Two monethes after the citie of Cizica was besieged, they made a salle, and as they would haue retyred, Seuerus capteines pursued and entred pelle melle with the capteines of Pessenius: and notwithstanding there was betwirt them greate slaughter for the recouering of a gate, and to fortifie a certeine place: in the ende Pessenius lost the citie, and Seuerus obteined the victorie. Pessenius greatly complained, and so was it bruted amongst the people, which is to wēte, that the capteine Emilianus had secrete practise with Seuerus: for, considering the stately walles wherewith the citie Cizica was compassed, and the valiant people wherewith it was defended: al men iudged it impossible to take it, and follie to besiege it. The cause that moued the capteine Emilianus to do this vnworthie dēde, was: that his sonnes, who were left at Rome, Seuerus brought with him into that warre, vnder great garde: and it is to be thought, that to giue libertie vnto his sonnes which he had ingendred, he made a breache of his fidelitie and othe which he had sworne. The Emperour Commodus, as he was suspicious of them, with whome he had to deale: and so euil wished of all such as did serue him: so it was his fashion, for the most parte, when he sent any noble Roman to gouerne any prouince, presently to place their sonnes in a fort: and this he did, to the end their fathers should not be traitours, respectinge their children that were kept vnder ward. From the time that Commodus reigned in Rome, Emilianus gouerned the prouinces in Asia: by which cause Seuerus recouered the children, & Pessenius lost the father. The fame being diuulgate throughout all Asia, that the citie Cizica was sacked, & that Seuerus kept the field with victorie: all Pessenius knightes that scaped from thence, & all other their companions that heard therof, gaue them selues to flight:

to

to seeke places of fortificatiõ wherein to hide their persõs. Seuerus not onely recouered honour & profite of this victorie, but also planted both feare & discorde almosse throughout all Grecia: for some rebelled against Pessenius, and others did obey Seuerus. Although the people of Grecia haue ableneſſe to learne science, they are no lesse mutable in martial affaires: for in warres which they prosequute, they follow not the Prince that hath most iustice, but him that most is fauoured of Fortune. The citizens of Bithynia sent Ambassadours vnto Seuerus, saying, that they & their children were at his commaundement: and on the other side, the people of Nicena gaue Pessenius to vnderstand, that if he sent his armie thither, they woulde not only receiue them, but also mainteine them: which offers they presẽted not vnto these two Roman princes, for loue or friendship that they did beare them: but for the auncient enimitie which they had betwixt them selues. Seuerus wt his armie entring Bithynia, and Pessenius into Nicena, from thence, as from two fortes, they did issue to fight: & in the end betwixt the two armies vpon a certeine day, they trauersed so fierce a skirmishe, that in bloud & slaughter it was no lesse then a battel: where the field remained vnto Seuerus, & Pessenius bands were put to flight. Pessenius neither for the losse of the citie Cizica, neither for that he was beaten out of the field at Bithynia, did shewe either feare or weakeneſſe: but diuiding his armie that remained in two partes, he sent the one to mount Taurus to defend that passage from Seuerus, & the other parte he ledde with him selfe vnto Antioche, partely to take money out of his treasurie, & partly to renue, as also relieue his armie. Seuerus marched wt his armie frõ Bithynia vnto Galatia, & from Galatia vnto Cappadocia, which stoode in defence on the behalf of Pessenius, where Seuerus souldiours wt great furie did assault the same: in which iourney the Seuerians receiued no small losse, because the citie was situate vpõ the side of an hill, frõ whence to execute slaughter amongest their enimies, they nẽded no other defence, but to whirle stones.

The

The affaires standing in this estate, there chaunced two cities of Phœnicia to reuolt from Pessenius, and to yelde them selues vnto Seuerus, that is to saye, Laodycia and Tyrus: of which newes Pessenius toke greate griefe, and no small hatred, which passions conceiued against those cities, he not onely vttered in the foule wordes which he sent to be saide vnto them: but also in the cruel acts which he commaunded to be done vnto them. Pessenius had in his armie fifténe thousand archers, which were called Mauri, people that naturally of their owne inclination were giuen to bloud, and without al feare of death: these, Pessenius commaunded to go vnto Laodycia and Tyrus, vtterly to burne and consume both citie and people: with a warning confirmed by an othe, that if they toke any prisoners to giue any man life, the person that vsed that pitie should be slaine. These fifténe thousand archers named Mauri departed vnto Laodycia and Tyrus, and manie other that ioyned with them: & as they toke them at the soudeine being vnprouided, and hauing no time to demaund succour of Seuerus: so cruell and inhumane was that barbarous people, to those so generous and noble cities, that they left not vpon the walles one stone vpon an other, either house that they subuerted not, either the hed of man woman or childe that they did not cutt off. When these matters passed in Assyria, the knightes of Seuerus were in Cappadocia, traueiling greatly to possesse the mount Taurus: but as it was naturally of great height, and rockie, & Pessenius possessing all the passages, so they might not by any meane assaile them, or conceiue hope of any profitable or honourable attempt. Vpon the top of this mount Taurus, Pessenius his people had brought an huge number of great stones and rockes, to throwe down vpon Seuerus souldiours, if they should attempt to climbe the hill: but as on the side of the mounteine, there grewe many trées, both high and great, which Seuerus souldiers cut downe in great heapes & multitudes to stay the stones before they tumbled vpon men, that might be throwne

downe

In hauing redy captaines to fight, and skilfull to defende none of the armies had cause to complaine, either of their enimies to haue enuie, except that Pessenius was more vertuous, and Seuerus more venturous.

CHAP. VIII.

Of a cruell and furious battell, betwixt Pessenius and Seuerus, wherein Pessenius was slaine.

IN certaine broken, worne, and hollowe places, as in suche groundes the waters do vse to make, Pessenius souldiers had fortified w̄ stones & boughes, whiche serued them to blinde and stoppe the waye for passage, as also from thence bety to defende and offend their enimies. Neither for trauell to climbe the hill, either for feare of death, did Seuerus his captaines ceasse any houre to attempt the recouering of the mounte: but the wayes and passages were so narrowe, and the mountaines so rockie & inaccessible, that tenne defended an hundred, an hundred a thousand: & a thousand tenne thousand. The case was thus, that the Seuerian armies more daunted with despaire, thē aduaunced with hope, soudenly on a night there fel vpon those mountaines an exceeding great snow, wherupon Pessenius souldiours retired from theire rampiers, and fortified rockes: and that whiche was worse, many persons and beastes were there daungered & also lost, and their victualls all casse and carried away. By time that shoulde do the deede, and the sorrowfull destinies of Pessenius that shoulde conduct the same: it chaunced vpon the thirde day after the snowe had fallen, the sunne did shine with as hote a glome as in ẏ heate of summer, wherwith all the snowe being throughly thawed, the violence of most furious waters that descended the hil, ouerthrewe and carried away all bulworkes and rampiers that Pessenius had made in that mountaine: in such wise, that na-

ture framed in one hour ẏ Art might not bring to passe in many dayes: that is to say, the snowe drawe away the people, and soone opened the way. When the Seuerian armies founde, that Pessenius souldiours had forsaken the mounte Taurus, and ẏ thawed snowe had opened their way: they not onely recouered greate courage, but also presumed to haue obtained diuine fauour: saying, that Seuerus did gouerne them, but that the Godds did guide them. Vpon the fifte day after the snowe, Seuerus souldiours mounted vpon ẏ toppe of Taurus, & al the snowe beeing thawed and gonne, and trackes and wayes beeing dried vp, in euery place they founde deade men, drowned beastes, broken armour, and victualls scattered: in the viewe whereof they toke no small pleasure, because they had nowe set their feete, where before they imployed but their eyes. Pessenius being aduertised, howe his souldiours had forsaken the mounte Taurus, departed with all his hoste from Antioche, & toke the way vnto Sicyl: the multitude of people that hee ledde with him was marueilous and terrible to beholde: and yet truly notwithstanding, more fearefull in viewe, then in fight: for admitting they were many, & younge men well armed, yet they were more accustomed to haue peace with vices, then warr w̄ enimies. Seuerus w̄ his armies, & Pessenius w̄ his hostes incountred in Sicyl, not a league one from an other, hauing betwixt them a greate plaine which was named by the men of the country, the field of Yfico, where was giuen the laste and most famous battel betwixt Alexander and Darius, in which the great king Darius was ouercōe, and the great Alexander remained monarche of ẏ world. In memory of which notable battell, there is situated at
» these dayes, the renowmed citie of Alexandria, wherein
» there is is a picture of brasse, so naturall a counterfeite of
» Alexander, that to beholde doth partly terrifie, and also
» giueth motion of great reuerence. Two dayes after these princes came to this place, with conformitie they determined to giue the battell, since either of thē had ioyned their

whole

whole powers, with the presence of their proper persones: vntill which time, betwixt them there was but small difference, for that either of them had greate hope to haue the victorie. The night before they fought, Seuerus & Pessenius were both sadde, and their armies in greate watch: for as the fatall houre of fight drewe neare (although their generous hartes gaue them hope to ouercome) their mortal bodies did feare to die. At the breake of ỹ day al the captaines made ready to ỹ battell: continually two houres before the charge, both of the one parte and the other, they played vpõ instrumẽtes of musicke, which wt their melody did yealde such dolefulnesse, that exactly it discouered the sorrowfull successe that shoulde followe in that cruell battell. The hostes bẽing ioyned the one wt the other, there was trauersed betwixt thẽ so cruel a fight, & of euery parte so traueled to obtaine the victory, ỹ the day ended, & ỹ battell not finished. That battell was so bloudie, wounded, & of both partes so much contended, ỹ within the compasse of two leagues, there was not iii. foote of ground, ỹ was not couered wt mans bloude. If the two armies were valiant in fighting, surely ỹ two princes, their lordes, were no cowardes: but in the ende, when night was come, the Pessenians turned their backes: & the whole conclusion was, that Pessenius fledde wounded, and Seuerus remained lorde of ỹ field. Upon an horse of greate swiftnesse, & accompanied wt fewe persons, Pessenius toke the way vnto Antioche: as the enimies did pursue him, at the dore of a poore cottage where he neither had time to rest, either place to hide him selfe, but groueling vpon his breastes, drinking with a pitcher, at a blowe his enimies cutte off his head. This was the sorrowfull end of Pessenius Niger, vpon whose sepulture they placed this Epitaph: Here lieth Pessenius Niger, an auncient Romane, whiche in merite was equall with the vertuous: but in misfortunes exceeded the most vnfortunate.

When Seuerus sawe him selfe aduaunced to so great victorie, and that in all Asia, there was not one launce

in the Reſt againſt him, he procured to ſeaze vpon al principall perſons, that had eſcaped from the campe of Peſſenius: and commaunded not onely to kill them all, but alſo to execute them with greate tormentes. Many were founde in the campe of Peſſenius, whiche did followe him againſt their willes, whome alſo Seuerus commaunded to be ſlaine as the reſt: whiche in dæde was rather the acte of a cruell tyrante, then a vertuous prince. Seuerus had with him the mother and the ſonnes of Peſſenius, whome he ſente (both mother and ſonnes) baniſhed vnto an Iſlande.

All thinges ſet in order, that were conueniente for the prouiſion of the good gouernement of Aſia, Seuerus moued talke amongſt his moſte familiar friendes, for the conqueſt of the kinge of Parthia, and the kinge of Thebes: not becauſe they helde him as an enimie, but for that they were friendes vnto his enimie Peſſenius. Seuerus friendes did counſell him, that by no meanes he ſhould publiſh any intente of warre againſte the kinge of Parthians, or the kinge of Thebanes: for ỹ notwithſtanding Peſſenius was dead in the Eaſt, Albinius was aliue in the kingdomes of the Weſte: and that hee was not ſo ſure of the Empire, but ỹ it were better counſell for him to ſeeke newe friends, then to awake olde enimies. Seuerus dealt cruelly with the inhabitants of Antioche, becauſe they had receiued and obeyed his enimie Peſſenius, and with them did not onely vſe iniurious wordes, but alſo did diſcharge them of al their auncient liberties. He ſlewe all the Senatours of Rome, that is to ſay, ſuche as folowed Peſſenius and tooke the name of captaines and Tribunes: & of other perſones he ſlewe but one, and woulde neuer ſay, wherfore but he alone, and none other was put to death.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Conſul Albinius, and howe he rebelled againſt Seuerus being in Englande.

Amongest the moste extreme young gentlemen, that were bred in the house of the good Marcus Aurelius, were three, which in those dayes were placed for captains in the most famous and daungerous places of the empire, that is to say, Seuerus in Illyria, Pessenius in Asia, & Albinius in greate Britaine. Their Lorde Marcus Aurelius had brought them vp so expert in science, so accustomed to vertues, so readie in armes, so skilfull in perilis, and so made vnto trauels, that if they them selues, had not warred & destroyed them selues, al the world had not bene sufficient to haue defeated thē. Aboue, it is said, how Seuerus came to Rome to take the Empire, and howe Pessenius was ouercome in Asia: there resteth nowe to speake of Albinius, who was in Britaine: a man in his life righte venturous, and in his deathe no lesse vnfortunate. Albinius was native of Rome, and as sone as he was of age sufficient, he was made a Senatour, being of most auncient linage, and did inherite of his predecessours, greate wealth, whiche he wanted no skill to conserue, as also to increase, and excellently to inioy: for, notwithstanding his degree was but a Senatour: yet in seruice of his house, and behauiour of his person, he was after ỹ manner of an Emperour. In the dayes of the empire of Pertinax, Albinius was sente as captaine and gouernour vnto greate Britaine: in whiche gouernement hee was very well loued, and no lesse feared: for by his greate iustice he was feared and with his greate liberalitie he was beloued. When Seuerus departed vnto Asia, to warre with Pessenius, vnderstandinge how renouned the name of Albinius was throughout all the worlde, and howe well liked of the Romaine Empire: hee greatly doubted to aduaunce him selfe with the Romane Empire: and the rather, for that he perceiued the principall Romanes, to fixe their eyes vpon Albinius. Seuerus aduised him selfe to vse a certaine cautele with Albinius, which was: before he departed frō Rome, to write vnto him into Britaine, aduertising him, that he would

haue his fellowship in the Empire, from thence forth intituling him Augustus: & since his departing to ỹ warrs of Asia, requesting him to take the charge of the gouernement of the common wealth. With these and suche like wordes whiche hee sente him, and with a letter written vnto him, and certaine iuells whiche hee gaue him, Albinius did endure to be deceiued, though voide of all mistrust to be deceiued.

Albinius had with him an auncient knight named Cypro Albo, who (as it is reported) saide vnto Albinius: thou art not so neare a kinseman, either so deare a friende vnto Seuerus, that without thy requeste, hee will with thee diuide the Empire: for that truely, euen betwixt the father and the sonne, it were verie muche: but that I thinke hee will nowe be assured of thee, to the ende when hee returneth from the warres to destroy thee: because from a man so noble as Seuerus is, so amorous letters, and iuells so precious, may not proceede, but wrapt in malice. Albinius woulde giue no credit vnto Cypro Albo, but openly did reade his letters, and shewed his iuells: whiche when Seuerus vnderstoode, hee receiued greate pleasure thereof: and the better to finishe his guile, hee made money in both their names, placing Albinius his picture in the Senate. The minde of Albinius being wonne and obtained, to the ende to holde safe and sure the kingdomes af Europa, hee departed into Asia: and sundry times did write vnto Albinius, and not vnto the Senate: giuing accompt of ỹ whiche hee had donne, and demaundinge counsell in that whiche hee mente to do.

Fifteene monethes Seuerus stayed in the warres with Pessenius: whome, after hee had ouercome and slaine, he determined to destroy Albinius: and because hee had no occasion, either greate or small to make him publike warre, hee aduised to kill him by guile. Many Senatours and noble Romanes did write him letters, and also persuaded Albinius in wordes, that hee shoulde aduaunce

uaunce him selfe with the Empire: and to the same ende, they did sweare and affirme vnto him, that although Seuerus were farre from his countrie, yet without comparison, hee was muche more distante from their willes. The case was thus, the warres of Asia beeing finished, Seuerus in greate secrecie conferred with certaine Pursuantes by whome hee was accustomed to write letters: whome he commaunded to departe vnto greate Britaine, and to presente their letters openlye vnto Albinius: and further, to giue him to vnderstande, howe they had secretly to say vnto him: and that: if with them hee shoulde seperate him selfe, presently to kill him: promising them, that if they performed that enterprise, hee should make them the greatest men of Rome. Hee gaue them also a bore of fine poyson, & therew̃ this instruction, that if they might not by chaũce dispatch & kil Albinius, by such meane: they shoulde trauell in some meate to giue him of that poyson.

Albinius was growne somewhat suspicious of Seuerus, partely for that so rarely hee did write vnto him, and also because hee was aduertised, that in secrete hee vsed euill speach of him: wherefore he liued more warely, not onely with suche as hee had talke, but also of his meate whiche hee shoulde eate. These Pursuaunts beeing arriued in greate Britaine, deliuered their letters openly vnto Albinius, saying, that they had to tell him in secret, and being nowe in doubt and suspicion of Seuerus his matters, he commaunded these Pursuauntes to be taken, and grieuously tormented: which presently confessed, that Seuerus sente them, for none other purpose, but either w̃ yron or with poyson to take away the life of Albinius.

Presently Seuerus was aduertised, ỹ Albinius had taken, tormented, and put to death his Pursuantes: where vppon followed, that the one did publishe the other open enimies: and for suche they exclaymed them selues in woordes, defied in letters, and also vttered in workes.

Seuerus had greate sorrowe, for that Albinius had manifested him selfe his enimie: and the greater was his griefe, for that his enimies made common reporte, that he would haue slaine Albinius as a cowarde, and not deale with him openly as a man of a valiant minde. Seuerus also had greate griefe, of the generall reporte of Albinius boaste, before all men that woulde heare the same: of the greate numbers of people and armies of men that did obey him in greate Britaine: and muche more, that did loue and wish him in Rome. Seuerus not able to endure with patience, the reports that ranne of Albinius, aduised to assemble his armies, vnto whome hee did speake after this manner.

CHAP. X.

Of a famous speach that Seuerus vttered vnto his armies, to bringe them in hatred with his enimie Albinius.

IT were not iuste, that any prince shoulde be noted vnstable, if by chaunce they be seene to abhorre at one time, that which they did loue at an other time: for that subiects changing their custões, it is not much that Lordes alter their opinions. As much as a friend shalbe vertuous, so muche and no more, he shall be loued of his friendes: for if it be a thing commendable to loue the good, it is no lesse vituperable to loue the euill. Admitting that princes deale hardly with some, and fauour others, neither for the one are they to be praised, either blamed for the other: because reward, or punishmente, is neither giuen or ought to be giuen conformable vnto princes wills: but agreeable vnto the subiects merite. Ye all vnderstand, how

Albinius

Albinius and I, beeing young men, were bred in the houſe of the good Emperour Marcus Aurelius: and truly, vnto this day, I haue intreated him, not as a companion, but as a brother: which ſeemeth no leſſe true, for that I parted with him the Empire, which ſildome is diuided betwixt the father and the ſonne. I did not onely deale with him as with a brother, and with him did parte the Empire: but alſo at my iourney vnto the warres of Aſia, vnto him onely I recõmended the gouernement of the common wealth: reſpecting the poſſeſſion which I had of him, and the confidence which I committed vnto him, when I did truſt him with the cõmõ wealth: I would haue parted my ſoule with him, if it had benepartible. Being (as I was) wounded in the warres of Aſia, and he placed in the gouernement of great Britaine: notwithſtanding the diſtance that was betwixt them, there paſſed fewe monethes wherein I did not write vnto him, giuing large accõpt of that which was done, and hideing nothinge of all that I determined to do: In ſuche wiſe, that in him was regiſtred al my triumphs, and he was the hoorde of al my profound ſecreats. Betwixt me & Albinius, there was neuer any thing ẏ was not common, in my houſe there was neuer doore ſhut againſt him, the letters which he wrote I did with greate ioy reade, that which he requeſted me I alwayes perfourmed, whereof he warned me I euer corrected: finally, he neuer deſired any thing of me, that he obtayned not: and neuer had trauell, but I was preſent, and preſt to ſuccour him. After all theſe things, his ſorrowfull deſtinies woulde, and no leſſe hath my fortune without al felicitie perfourmed, that our friendſhip is turned to enimitie, our felicitie vnto treaſon, our benefits

to ingratitude, our loue vnto hatred, our communion to diuorce, our confidence to ſuſpicion, in ſuch wiſe, that at this day there is nothing ſpoken more commonly throughout the Romane Empire, but of the greate friendſhip whiche wee haue had, and the cruell enimitie whiche nowe we haue. That Albinius deſireth to be Lorde, and procureth to be Emperour, I neither wonder, either is it to be marueled: but that which maketh me amaſed, is, that I placeing him with confidence in gouernement of the common wealth, he ſhuld procure to riſe or rebell with Rome: that ſpeaking according to the lawe of a good man, ẏ if Albinius had thought to attempte ſo foule a dede, if I had requeſted him to take the charge, he ought not to haue cõſented: for there is not the like traitour in this world, as he to whom I cõmitted my houſe, to robbe me of mine honour, and ſpoile mee of my goods. A greater faulte in leſſe magiſtrates hath Albinius committed thẽ Peſſenius Niger: for that Peſſenius from the time that I was elected Emperour, preſently manifeſted him ſelfe mine enimie: & more, ẏ I neuer helde him as my friende, either did he accepte me as his Lord: and to ſay that which I had thought neuer to haue ſaide, Peſſenius Niger did write vnto vs, that if wee would perpetuate the principalitie of Aſia vnto him, he woulde vtterly yealde vnto vs all obedience: and for that we would not graunt it him, ſpeaking without paſſion, although he had no reaſon to rebell, he had occaſion to be offended. The matter hath not ſo paſſed betwixt Albinius and me, but that without his owne ſute, or any other mannes for him, beſides the gouernement of Britaine, I gaue him the principalitie of al Europe, ſent him the enſigne of the

Empire

Empire, commaunded him by proclamation to be intituled Auguſtus. & ỳ which is not ſmally to be eſtemed, I cauſed with his image & mine, money to be grauen, and with mine owne proper handes I placed his ſtatuie or picture in the Senate. In repaimente of theſe ſo notable benefites, he hath committed an hundreth thouſand inſolences, namely, hee hath mutined the armies, altered and offended the people, robbed our treaſures, taken our caſtels, eſcandalized me with the Romanes, and nowe of late hath ſlaine my Purſeuaunts: and that whiche grieueth me moſte, is, that he made them ſay in their tormentes, that which neuer was in my thought. I hauing ſlaine the prince Peſſenius, and beeing (as I was) triumphant of the fielde, no man hath to beleeue that I haue ſo ſmall eſtimation of my honour, that he beeing my detected enimie, ſhoulde be ſlaine in ſecrete at my commaundemente.

In what heart may it be conceiued, that I hauinge (as I haue) armies of ſo greate power and dexteritie, here in my preſence, ſhoulde procure to kill him with poyſon. For to haue ſlaine Albinius by treaſon, it had beene blame to me, and ſhame vnto you, but to him glory: for as his name is renowned, and his fame ſpread throughout the Empire, his perſon to haue beene ſo inuincible, that wee durſt not giue him battell as an enimie, but murther him as traytours.

The Godds neuer conſent, neither my venturous deſtinies permit, that the ſlaunderous renowne of a traytour, whiche hee hath recouered with his euill life, ſhoulde cleaue vnto mee by his ſecreate deathe: for that (to conclude) I had rather

holde

holde him as an enimie all the dayes of my life, then to fixe any ſcruple in my fame. Albinius did ſweare by the ſimulachre of Diana, not once, but thrice: not with one hande, but with both handes: not in one temple, but in many: for euer more to holde the gods in greate veneration, the people in iuſtice, the temples in reuerence, and to me obedience: all which the periured Albinius hath broken, and neither hath feare or ſhame for that which he hath done: but I hope in the Gods, it ſhal not come to paſſe as he thinketh, that is, to die with poyſon: but the time ſhall come, that hee ſhall pay in the fielde, that which he hath ſworne in ẏ temple. If this infamous deede had bene done againſt any particular perſon, they ſhould both heare and ſee throughout the world, the amends that I would take thereof: but in as muche as it toucheth none but my ſelfe, who at this preſent am had in ſuſpicion, Albinius being held as innocente, it ſufficeth that it is not in me, but to aduertiſe you thereof: and to you it appertaineth to reuenge the ſame. In ẏ warres againſt Peſſenius Niger, ye folowed me: in this againſt Albinius, I will folow you: and I hope in the immortall Gods, that they wil giue you the victorie: and in my behalfe on Albinius wil take vengeance.

CHAP. XI.

Howe Seuerus departed from Aſia to Fraunce, and fought with Albinius and ſlewe him.

AT the instante that Seuerus had finished his speach, all the army exclaming with lowde voyces, againe confirming Seuerus in the Empire, manifested Albinius an enimie vnto the Romaine Empire. And for as much as none that was present, vnderstoode the treason that Seuerus had attempted against Albinius, they gaue him credite in all that he saide: & so in generall they conceiued as greate hatred against the one, as loue vnto the other: proceeding no lesse by the presence of Seuerus, then by the absence of Albinius: for (according to the olde prouerbe) the absent is neuer without blame, nor the present without excuse. When Seuerus sawe that he had wonne ỹ hearts of his armies, hee recouered newe hope to be reuenged of Albinius: and to the purpose he made a generall muster of his men of warre, and founde tenne thousande horsemen, and xl. thousand fote men: all whiche he presently payde, not onely that whiche he did owe them: but also gaue them many and greate rewardes, adding therevnto many faire promises. The first iourney that Seuerus made, was to besiege Bizantio (for thither the captaines repaired that had escaped the mortall battaile of Pessenius Niger) and in the ende toke it, not by force, but by hunger: and hauing the citie vnder his power, he displaced the bulwarkes, made plaine the towers, ouerthrewe the Theaters, subuerted their bathes, burnt their houses, strangled the straungers, & the natiues he did captiuate: finally, he behaued him selfe not as a Romane prince, but as a moste cruel tyrant.

With the riches that hee recouered in Bizantio, and the aboundance whiche he robbed in other partes, he commaunded the cities to be repaired, that Pessenius souldiours had sackt: and charged the portes to be erected that they had throwne downe: and leauing officers necessarie for gouernement, and men of warre to defende those countries, he departed with greate celeritie vnto greate Britaine, with a determined intente to make furious warres against Albinius.

His

" His desire was so disordinate to encounter with Albinius,
" that he traueled night and day, thicke and thinne, foule
" and faire: and that wherefore they most blamed him, was,
" that he neither obserued the solemne festiuall dayes, or
" had compassion of the tyred. Traueling on those wayes
" when it snowed, manie times hee was bare headed: and
" in the mire, hee woulde trauell one foote: when it rained,
" hee woulde marche in his doublet and hose: and wanting
" victualles, he woulde eate barcley bread: and (as he after
" reported) to be reuenged of his enimie, he thought it all
" well imployed. Hee sent before him valiant captaines, and
" men very light & of greate swiftnesse, to cleare the wayes
" vpon the highte of the mountaines, and to defende the most
" perilous places: chiefly when he passed the Alpes of Italie,
" doubting that Albinius might haue in that place some
" hidden ambushe. Nowe, when Seuerus sawe him selfe
" and all his armies in Gallia Transalpina, and that in so
" longe a iourney hee had incountered with no stumbling
" blocke: if vntill that time he went with hope, from thence
" forth he marched in certeintie to obtaine victorie: for
" the feare whiche he had, was, that his armie trauelinge
" both weary and spent, Albinius at the souden might dis-
" couer to giue him battell. In al this time Albinius remai-
" ned in the Isle of Britane, which nowe is Englande: but
" presently after hee vnderstode that Seuerus had pas-
" sed ỹ Alpes, he brought forth all his armie out of ỹ Isle, &
" sente them into Fraunce, rather to defende the frontiers,
" then without any commaundement to make warre: be-
" cause Seuerus was so souden in his arriuall, ỹ he was then
" in Fraunce, whē they belieued him not to be departed from
" Italie. With great speede Albinius did write vnto the ci-
" ties adioyning, requesting their helpe for money, and com-
" maunding them to be stronge and valiant in his seruice, of
" whom manie disobeyed, and other rebelled against him:
" notwithstanding, they all confessed, that they rather did
" it for feare of the potencie of Seuerus, then for the hatred
" whiche they did beare vnto Albinius. But in the ende,

the

the two armies beeing ioyned, and all the cities diuided into parcialities, euery day betwixt them there was incounters, and daily meetings to skirmishe: and for the moste parte, the souldiours of Seuerus departed with broken heades, and Albinius his bandes returned victorious.

They trauersed on a certaine day so furious a skirmish, that it was necessarie Seuerus shoulde come forth armed vnto the same: and as hee was not able to make his souldiours to retire, neither constraine his enimies to flie, thinking to enter to haue parted the fray, hee was vrged to fight in his owne person: in whiche fight he receiued so greate a blowe with a plummette of leade, that hee was feld downe to the grounde, and lay for deade so longe space, that many did kisse the handes of his sonne Geta, as Emperour. After Seuerus had escaped that daunger, and was cured of his wounde, in greate secrecie he called into his presence certaine Sorcerers and Inchanters that hee brought with him, both requesting, threatening, and promising them manie thinges, if they woulde tell him the ende of those warres: for if hee shoulde be conquerour, hee woulde prosecute the same: and if hee shoulde be ouercome, he woulde returne into Italie. The Sorcerers and Inchaunters answered, that his armie should receiue greate hurte, but in the ende his enimie Albinius shoulde be ouercome: and that hee shoulde not obtaine in this case, that which he desired, that is to say, to kill Albinius with his owne handes: but that hee shoulde see him deade before his eyes. The tenth of March, Seuerus receiued this answere of his Inchanters, and presently on the next day, he toke muster of all his men, commaundinge them to shoe their horse, and amend their armour: and the third day hee gaue battell vnto Albinius, neare to a citie named Lugduno, whiche nowe in Fraunce is called Lions Sonarona, whiche on bothe sides was so extremely contended, that a greate parte of the day it might not be knowne, vnto whome the victorie would incline.

When

When al the day was passed, and darke within night, the one army fighting with the other, in the ende Albinius was ouercome. This battaile was so bloudie, that of so greate a number of people, as both the hoastes did containe, there escaped not a man, that was not slaine in the fielde, or returned vnto his tente vnwounded. Albinius remained to keepe the citie, and sent his capteines to giue battaile, who beeing beaten out of the fielde, the Seuerians entred into the citie, spoyling goodes, burning houses, and slaying people. Seuerus had a captaine named Letus, whiche was the cause of the conquest of that battell: for ꝑ Seuerus his souldiours beeing in a manner ouercome, and Seuerus ready and prest to flie, he relieued the battell with a fresh bande of souldiours: Letus of skill and industrie woulde not fight that day, vntil he sawe Seuerus fledde, and also fall from his horse: thinking, that if Seuerus shoulde die or be slaine, and hee ouercominge and conquering the battell, to aduaunce him selfe with the Romaine Empire. Seuerus was not ignorant of the good seruice whiche his captaine had done him at that instant, either did he hide the intente wherewith he performed the same: for whiche cause the warres beeing finished, he commaunded his heade to be cut off: not for that whiche hee did, but for that which he woulde haue done.

When the Seuerians destroyed the citie of Lugduno, amongst the reste they slewe the sorrowfull Albinius, who so slaine they brought vnto Seuerus, commaunding to cutte off his heade, and to dismember and mangle his bodie all to pieces: whiche beeing done, he riding vpon a rough horse, all to trampled the body of Albinius, whiche was hackt and hewed to mamocks. All men that beholde Seuerus vse so greate inhumanitie with the body of Albinius, wepte: and all men that hearde the reporte thereof, were escandalized, and not without greate reason, for The office of a prince of moste perfecte pietie, is, to pardon the liuinge, and to bury the deade.

Seuerus

Seuerus treading and trampling the bodie of Albinius (after the maner of a fierce Lion) his horse grewe fearefull, and gaue him so shrewde a fall against the grounde, that he remained a great space astonnied and in dismay, in such wise, that he misled verie narrowly, presently to haue paide with life, so enorme an iniurie. These matters being finished, Seuerus dispatched his Pursenaunts into all partes, with the newes of this victorie: and the head of Albinius vnto Rome, and his bodie, as it was all to pieces troaden, trampled and drawen, he commaunded to be throwen into the riuer Rhodanus, to the ende that as he had taken away his life, so by no meanes any memorie should remaine of Albinius

CHAP. XII.

¶ Howe after the death of Albinius, Seuerus returned to Rome, and there slewe many.

SEuerus not satisfied with slaying his enimie Albinius, treading his bodie vnder his horsse feete, casting the pieces thereof into the riuer Rhodanus, and sending his head vnto Rome to be set in the pillorie: but commaunded serch to be made for the bodies of all the noble Romans, which had béene slaine in the seruice of Albinius: and for that he might not chastice them in time of their life, he aduised to vituperate and defile them after their death, causing their bodies to be drawen, cut in pieces, and burnte: some throwen into riuers, to the ende they should neuer more appeare: and othersome vnto beastes to be deuoured. In all cities that receiued, obeyed, or succoured Albinius or his souldiours, Seuerus did greate hurte, robbing their goods, and punishing their persons. Manie cities and people made their excuse, saying, they had not serued or followed Albinius, for that they had a desire so to do: but because they were not succoured of Seuerus, and yet ceased

" not to chastice and robbe them. Albinius had three sonnes,
" a daughter, and a wife, generous in bloud and beautifull
" of face, whose throte with his children he commaunded to
" be cutt, and their bodies also to be cast into the riuer Rho-
" danus. And as Albinius was of greate power in all the
" Empire of Europe, and of him self verie gratious, liberal,
" valiant, and noble minded: so in a manner all the nobles
" of Spaine and Fraunce, had followed his parte alike: the
" throtes of all which, Seuerus (after the battaile) cõmaun-
" ded to be cutt: and though he slewe the fathers, yet he did
" not therefore pardon the wife and children. Albinius
" his wife and his children being slaine, and execution done
" vpon all persons that followed his opinion: Seuerus ap-
" plyed all their goods and riches, for his owne chamber,
" which were so great, and of such value, that it was doub-
" ted whether any Emperour had euer attained vnto the
" like. The prouinces of Spaine and Fraunce being ordered,
" and two gouernours placed in greate Britaine, Seuerus
" departed vnto Rome, and led with him all his armie: not
" for that, in all Italie he had any enimie bent against him,
" but to terrifie the common wealth of Rome. Seuerus of
" his owne naturall inclination was so quarelous, proude,
" vnquiet, bloudie, and doubtfull, that although he had
" peace, yet he woulde goe alwayes after the fashion of a
" warriour. Seuerus was receiued with greate ioye of the
" Romanes, although most certeinly many of them stoode
" in greate feare, for that they had wished that Albinius
" might haue preuailed, whereof Seuerus had certeine in-
" telligence: whose condition was so harde, that to giue a
" cruell chastisement, a small occasion was sufficient. Af-
" ter that he had visited the great temple of Iupiter, he di-
" uided amongst the capteines that followed in the warres,
" many iewels and greate riches: and further, gaue them
" certeine liberties, which is to wéete, that they might wear
" rings of golde vpon their fingers, and entertaine Courti-
" sans within their houses. It was no small griefe vnto the
" Romanes, that Seuerus had giuen such liberties vnto his
" men of warre; saying, that from thencefoorth for euer to

weare

weare ringes of golde, they woulde spende their owne, & robbe others: and to vse concubines in their houses, would cause dissention amongest the people, and also debilitate their persons. In Rome there was a Consul named Claudius, which had his picture placed in the Senate, & was praised before all the people with a publique Oration for his worthie actes done in Asia: whereof Seuerus toke greate despight, because this Claudius was kinsman vnto Albinius. Seuerus did not knowe how to be reuenged of the Senate, but publiquely by proclamation, commaunded (vpon paine of death) that al men should call Commodus a God: for confirmation whereof, he did not only place his picture in the Senate, to the end they should reuerence him, but also in the temples to be adored. To commaund the Romanes to adore & reuerence Commodus, as one of the Gods, being (as he was) the worst of all men, it was vnto them so grieuous to heare, & so harde to perfourme, ỹ they determined, not to go to the church, either to offer sacrifice vnto their Gods: because no parte thereof should be allotted vnto the God Commodus. Seuerus vppon a daye went vnto the Senate, & made there a long and truculent Oration, wherin, after he had spoken many threateninge & malicious words, he commaunded certeine letters to be read, which he found amongst Albinius writings, made by many Consuls, Senatours, & other gentlemen amongst ỹ people, vnto Albinius, offering him their persons, sending their goods, & that he should not be dismaid in those warrs: for that in the common wealth he was much desired. The reading of these letters being ended, he commaunded them presently to be torne: & for the time did dissemble the matter, or to say better, did deferre the chastisemēt: for ỹ after wardes, as well of such as were absent, as of them ỹ were present, he toke so great reuengement, ỹ as ỹ strāts were bathed in bloud, ỹ fields filled w̄ carcases, ỹ wayes scattered with quarters, & the pillories beset with heades: they saide in Rome, ỹ Silla was reuiued, & Nero was not dead. Seuerus made a memoriall of all the riche men, valiant, &

" of power, that were in all the Empire: the greater parte
" whereof he charged to haue bene the seruauntes, friends
" or fauourers of Iulianus, of Niger, or else of Albinius, his
" mortall enimies: for which cause, of free men, he made
" them slaues: of lordes, seruauntes: of riche, pore: and
" also of liuing, dead men: in such wise, that he slewe ma-
" ny, not for offences which they had committed, but to rob
" them of their goods, which they had gathered togeather.
" Seuerus slewe some, with some reason, & others vpon smal
" occasion: but all these which followe, he killed without all
" reason or occasion: that is to say, Munius, Sellius, Claudi-
" us, Bitalius, Papianius, Elius, Iulius, Lolius, Aurelius,
" Antoninus, Posthumius, Sergius, Fabius, Nenius, A-
" mussius, Casperius, Seyonius, Sulpitianus, Coceyus,
" Eructus, Asilonius, Claudius, Honoratus, Petronius,
" Pessenius, Cestus, Aurelianus, Materius, Iulianus, Albi-
" nius, Cerelius, Faustinianus, Herenius, Valerius, Nobi-
" us, Arabianus, Marcus, Fabatus. These men were
" glorious, both of bloud & also for noble dedes & riches: for
" they were either Consuls, Censors, Pretors, Senatours,
" Ediles, Tribunes, or capteines: whose goods he imployed
" not vnto the publique treasurie, but did incorporate vnto
" his patrimonie, for him selfe to inioy the dayes of his own
" life, & to leaue vnto his children after his death. Seuerus
" defamed Cincius an auncient Consul, affirming, that he
" had procured poyson to kill him, wherfore he commaunded
" him to be slaine: but the trueth being knowen as Seuerus
" afterwards reported, but ỹ Cincius did much delight to goe
" on hunting, & had a fine yeark to kill the Boze & other be-
" nerie in the mountaines. He commaunded also Narcissus
" to be cast vnto ỹ Lyons, who at the request of Martia cho-
" ked Commodus: it was nothing to commaund them to be
" slaine, but ỹ with his owne eyes he would behold them er-
" ecuted, which was wont to be so straunge vnto Romaine
" princes, that they neuer vsed to see any person put to deth,
" neither so much as in the citie to be resident: but they vsed,
" if any suffered, to ride or go forth on hunting.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ Howe Seuerus returned into Asia, and conquered many prouinces.

After that Seuerus had conquered and slaine thre Emperours, that is to saye, Iulianus in Rome, Niger in Asia, and Albinius in Fraunce: it seemed vnto him, that since he had chasticed and triumphed ouer the Romans, he ought also to make his name glorious amongest the Barbarians: because all the warres that he helde vnto that daye, were more to make him selfe Lorde of the common wealth, then to magnifie his name. Seuerus aduised him selfe to go in his owne person to make warres with the Parthians, the occasion of which enterprise was: for that the king of Atrenoes had fauoured ỹ partialitie of Niger, but had deferred the reuengement thereof, to make conquest of Albinius being in great Britain. If Seuerus in this case had taken the opinion of the people, either the counsell of the Senate, he woulde neither haue taken those warres in hande, or made accompt of the iniurie: because at that time, those kingdomes were neither friendes or foes with Rome. And as the Romans were fatigated & tyred with warres, so they were contented (for the time) to ceasse the recouering of them for their vassals, to obtein them for quiet enimies. Seuerus departed vnto Asia, and in the way would first take the kingdõe of ỹ higher Armenia, whereof the king of Armenia being aduertised, and that he came with an armie of so greate power, and so determined to take his kingdome, met him vppon the way, not armed as a man of warre, but clad with the garments of peace: his truce being set downe with Seuerus, presently he gaue him much money, and offered to sende him succour: for the accomplishment wherof, he deliuered vnto Seuerus his two sonnes in pledge: Seuerus did not onely confirme him in his kingdome, but also tooke him

vnder his protection. The affaires of Armenia being dispatched, Seuerus departed towardes the kingdom of Hosdroenos, whose king was named Anguaro, bothe crooked and lame, but yet no fole: for he had such skill to recouer the good will of Seuerus, that he neither admitted him as a vassall, toke no money, demaunded no hostages, or did his countrie hurt, but receiued him to his familiar friendship, and made him a confederate with the people of Rome. Hauing passed the kingdome of Hosdroenos, Seuerus entred the landes and countries of Albanos, and being then the moneth of Aprill, and spring time, he founde the fieldes full of flowers and grasse, and commaunded his horsses for the space of fiftéen dayes to be fedde, and his armie to be recreated and refreshed: because his horsses were
„ growen leane, and his men tyred. Seuerus beeing de-
„ parted from the fieldes of Albanos, entred the countrie
„ of Arabia Felix, where they found that, which they found
„ not in all the kingdomes of the worlde: namely, the trées
„ that bare the precious Aromatike spices, and the boughes
„ whereof they gathered the most fine and excellent baulme.
„ Seuerus sacked all the townes of Arabia Felix, cut downe
„ their fieldes, spoyled and oppressed all people, and as he
„ afterwardes saide, he would not haue entred therein: for
„ that being (as it was) so riche, so ioyfull, pleasant, and de-
„ lectable: but because he found him selfe in greate cumber,
„ to withdrawe his souldiours from thence: for that they
„ felt them selues more delighted with the vices of Arabia,
„ then with the hazardes and daungers of the warres.
„ Hauing passed the delectable countrie of Arabia Felix, Seuerus entred the countrie and kingdom of Athrabanos, against whose king principally he made that iourney. Athras was a great citie, situated vpon the top of a most high hill, and chiefest citie of all the kingdome: and for that cause was named the kingdome of Athrabanos. Seuerus went presently to the siege thereof: but as the king had inclosed him selfe therein, with great readinesse and prouision, the wall being strong, the citie rockye, the people warre

warrelike, and furnished with munition and victuals: small was the hurte that Seuerus did vnto them within, but which the Romans receiued was very greate. And as Seuerus gaue forth no other bruite, when he came from Rome, but to be reuenged of the Athrabanos, he perfourmed that warre so exactly, that there was no daye but he battered the citie of Athras, and occupied his warlike engins, deuised and practised all manner sights and offences, that might be against the enimie, and the moste notified Romans, that there did not notifie them selues: but in the ende, might neither take the same, either as much as a capteine, or ouerthrow one windowe. Those that were besieged within that citie, to iest with their enimies, tyed very subtily, little earthen pottes, vnto a kinde of byrdes like vnto Crowes, which flying ouer the armies of Seuerus, let fall their pottes vpon their pates: by which iest many had their heades broken: but much more were the Romans despighted, to consider howe little they did esteeme them, not fighting with them in armour, but with pottes, and tankardes. The ayre of that mountaine was verie subtile, the waters verie thinne, fruites in great aboundaunce, and the Sunne verie hoat, and the grounde somewhat moyst: by which occasion Seuerus his whole campe fell into the disease of the flure, and there died amongest the rest seuen notable capteines, two of Seuerus cousins, and a little bastarde sonne, which all men likewise thought to be his cousin: but by his greate sorrowe & teares, he discouered the childe to be of his owne proper flesshe.

Seuerus considering the citie of Athras to be inexpugnable, the people therein inuincible, and his campe also weakened through greate sickenesse, aduised to rayse his siege, before his armie were vtterly lost, which he did, not without greate griefe, and no lesse despight, being as he was, giuen vnto so many triumphes, and victories, he thought him self vãquished, since he might not ouercome: but fortune ỹ naturally discouereth her self to be variable,

the victorie which thée denied Seuerus in fighting, thée in his flight gaue afterwardes more largely. The case was thus: that sailing on the Sea with all his armie, it was his chaunce to encounter with a tempest, and being forced to followe the disposition of the weather, and not as his heart desired, they brought him to riuers of the kingdome of Parthia, not three leagues distant from the greate citie of Tesiphont, where the king was further entred into feasting, then compassed with armour. Seuerus entred into the fielde of Tesiphont, committing so greate spoiles and robberies, that he put the people into greate feare, which as Seuerus did take at the soudeine and vnwares, and being amazed, neither able to saye or aunswere, if they were demaunded: for that to flye they had no time, and to resist they had no force: & that whiche was worst of all, to make agrément, it was not in their handes: neither might they endure to submitt themselues vnto the Romans. Seuerus arriuing at Tesiphont did subuert it vnto the ground, slewe al that made resistance, and did captiuate man, woman, and childe: he toke al the treasure and riches, bothe of the citie and royall palace: finally all the countrie, treasure, goods and persons came to the handes of Seuerus, except the king Arthabanus, who escaped on horsebacke. Seuerus led with him certeine skilfull painters, which as he went trauelling, they went drawing and painting, all cities, castels, riuers, mountaines, nations, kingdomes, and prouinces, by & throughe which he passed: and all the battels and victories whiche he had made and obteined. Seuerus sent a greate Ambassage vnto the Senate and people of Rome, with whome he sent many captiues, much riches, and the tables wherin his victories were set out at large: the Romains gaue greate thankes vnto the Gods, and also greate praises vnto Seuerus: although mosse true, that all men were pleased with the victories, but would not, that they shoulde haue béene obteined by Seuerus. Departing from the kingdome of Parthia, he diuided amongest his armies all

that

that he had taken from the Parthians: and for himselfe re-
serued nothing but that which he sent vnto the Senat, and
a ring of Vnicorne, a white parat or popingay, and a green
horse: the which thinges he toke not for their value, but for
the straungnes of their colours. Seuerus came through the
kingdome of Palestina, and gaue them many lawes con-
formable vnto the lawes of the Romanes: commaunding
vppon paine of death, that none should name himselfe a
Iew, either call himselfe a Christian, or obserue the lawe
of Christians. From Palestina he came through Assyria,
vnto the citie of Alexandria, where also he placed new cu-
stomes, and also made newe lawes, which he caused them
to write and obserue: howbeit, they endured but the life of
Seuerus: for after his death, they did not onely breake
them, but also burnt the tables wherin they were writen.

CHAP. XIIII.

¶ Of Seuerus his sonnes, and of their euill inclination.

THe kinges that were enimies being ouercome, new co-
federation made with old friends, and all the prouinces
of Asia reformed, he came vnto Rome, and as the Romans
had prepared the Parthicke triumph, he might not enter
triumphing: for that he came so weake of a quartane, and
so lame of the goute, that he might neither indure the cha-
riott, or suffer the intertainement of the people. It had
chaunced to none of ꝑ Romane Empire, as it fortuned vn-
to Seuerus, that is to say, that had slaine so many princes, &
obteyned so many victories, and yet neuer entred trium-
phing into Rome: which was not for his demerits, or re-
pugnancie of the Romanes: but for his three first victories
he might not triumphe, because they were Romane prin-
ces, and to his other victories of Asia his disease gaue im-
pediment.

Seuerus had two legitimate sonnes, ꝑ elder was named

Bassianus, the other Geta, who notwithstanding they were brothers in blood, yet were they much different in conditions, which infirmitie was not onely manifested in their infancie: for that in their childish playes they could neuer
« agrée, either in weightie affaires yeld one consent. It was
« much noted amongest the Romanes, that ý two brethern
« being but children, might neuer agrée in their childishe
« playes and deuises, that is to say, in making houses of clay,
« running at base, driuing topps, meating strawes, trilling
« the bowle, striking the drumme, and other such like chil-
« dishe trifles. That the one delighted, the other lothed:
« that which the elder affirmed, the younger denied: and if
« it happened their tutours to commaund them to play to-
« gether, if the one did winne, and the other lose, they tare
« their haire, scratched their faces, whirled stones, strucke
« with their fistes, in such wise, that as from their teeth
« and face they drue blood, and rent off their lockes, so they
« seemed rather to kill eche other as enimies, then to iest as
« brethren.

It was no small griefe vnto Seuerus, when hée vnderstoode of the euil condition of his sonnes, and that alwayes they were diuided amongest themselues, who trauelled (by al meanes possible) to bring them to conformitie, which he might neuer (by any meanes) bring to passe, although he requested: either would they obey, although hée commaunded: for his sonnes were so wilfull, that they ceased not to execute their owne wills, notwithstanding their fathers gentle sute, or his extreme commaundement. Seuerus also had a brother named Geta, a person of great boldnesse, and warrlike, who in all warres followed Seuerus, and if Seuerus had hautie thoughtes, truly Geta his thoughtes were not humble: for hée helde it for most certaine, that vnto him Seuerus should leaue the Empire. Besides that Geta was valiaunt and warrlike, so was he also guilefull and diligent, that is to say, in seruing Seuerus, contenting the Senate, and pleasing the people.

The

The hatred and brabbling that passed betwirte Bassianus and Geta his cousins, vsually hee reported it vnto all men, in such wyse, that Geta supposed to obteine by guile the Empire, that Seuerus had gotten with armes. Seuerus well vnderstoode, howe Geta wente thus anglinge for the Empire, and therein to take awaye all occasions, in the fourth yeare of his Empire, going against Albinius, at that time in the citie of Millaine, before hée passed the Alpes, hee created his elder sonne Cæsar, and his younger Consul: whereuppon a certaine Capitaine said vnto Seuerus: it well séemeth Seuerus, thou remembrest not the displeasures that Bassianus and Geta thy sonnes haue done thée, either the seruice which thy brother Geta hath performed on thy behalfe.

To this Seuerus aunswered, it well appeareth that thou speakest by hearesaye, rather then by anye experience whiche thou hast in this case: for, as thou haste no brothers, either hast béene married to haue any children, no more knowest thou, what difference of loue is betwirte the one and the other: For I giue to vnderstande, that without all comparison, wee fathers doe more loue the thwartes of oure children, then the seruice of oure brethren.

The elder brother whiche was named Bassianus, changed his name, and commaunded all men to call him Antoninus Aurelius, in the memorie of Antoninus Pius, and of Marcus Aurelius: because these Princes were verye glorious in their liues, and in their Common wealthes no lesse beloued.

When Seuerus returned from the warres of Parthia, his sonnes Bassianus and Geta were then men: and for that hee vnderstoode that the Romanes were thereof then very doubtfull, hée requested his sonnes, that notwithstandinge the variaunce betwirte themselues, they woulde bée in peace wyth the people: but hérewith mighte hee not tame the condition of the young men, either persuade them to be in friendshippe with the Romanes: for as much as hée

" as he soldered with his good woords, so much did they escā-
" dalize with their lewd woorkes. Seuerus finding himselfe
" infected with infirmities, compassed with enimies, and his
" sonnes so euill inclined, was alwayes sad, pensiue, melan-
" cholie, and (in a manner) in despaire: not onely doubting,
" they would diminish the estate wherein he left them, but
" also lose the honour which they did inherite. Seuerus consi-
" dering the daily complaints made of his sonnes in the Se-
" nate, and the continual displeasures which they gaue him,
" aduised to banishe them the vices and pleasures of Rome:
" the one hee sent into Germanie, the other into Panonia:
" but if they were euil in his presence, they were much
" worse in his absence: for that aforetime, by their subiecti-
" on, they absteined from some vices, but afterwards with
" libertie they committed all mischiefe. The parents that with their owne hands, and in their owne houses, may not frame vertue in their children, will hardly atteine it at the hands of others: for that vertue is not obteyned in seeking straunge countries, but in the amendment of old errours.

CHAP. XV.

¶Of a fauoured seruaunt of Seuerus named Plautianus.

IN the dayes of the Empire of the good Marcus Aurelius, there came from Africa vnto Rome, a gentlemā named Plautianus, poore, blind in sight, craftie and subtile in condition: and being (as hee was) mutinous and quarelling, and wheresoeuer he went, mouing some debate, Marcus Aurelius commaunded him to be banished Rome: for he was a prince of such patience, that he suffered not in his common wealth a man that was vitious, or any young mā that was quarellous. Plautianus being banished Rome, departed vnto the garrisons of Illyria: and from thence also being caste as a seditious person, repaired at last, into the company of Seuerus, of whome he was very well handled,

died, and also honoured, and in all thinges placed aboue all men: some said that it was done of Seuerus, for that hée was of his countrie: some for kindred, and some durst say that hée serued not onely for martiall affayres, but also to do him seruice in the chamber. After that Seuerus came to be Emperour, he gaue so great credite vnto Plautianus, and so strictly did follow his counsell, that he neither read letter, but hée did sée it, or signed commission that hée liked not, either gaue any reward that he craued not. In the Senate, he was placed in the most honourable seate: when he came forth into Rome, all the Gentlemen did accompanie him: when he came out of his house, all Embassadours did attend on him: in time of warre, all captaines sued vnto him: if there were playes and pastimes, they were alwayes represented before his palace: if they had to giue or receiue any money, all did passe through his hands: in such wise, that it was neuer séene in Rome, that any man without the title of an Emperour, enioyed so great portion of ỹ Empire. Plautianus naturally was proud, ambitious, couetous, and cruell: and the more to shewe his fiercenesse, crueltie, & magnificence, he alwayes had a drawne sword borne before him: and when he passed through the streats, hee would that none should dare to behold him in the face, but cast downe their eyes to the ground: and when hée trauelled vpon the way, he had alwayes one that went before, to giue warning to all persons to giue way, where he should passe: in such wise, that hee neither would behold straungers, either be séene of the countrie natiues.

Seuerus gaue in reward vnto Plautianus, the goods of al persons that were condemned and confiscate in the Empire: and as hée was of a grædie and couetous nature, so they were infinite that he caused to be slaine in ỹ Empire: not because they had so deserued, but for their goods which they possessed.

The elder sonne of Seuerus named Bassianꝰ, being come to ripe vnderstãding, and perceiuing how al things went, was greatly grœued, to se Plautianus haue so great power in the

in the gouernement of the common wealth: and Plautianus presently finding ỹ hatred of Bassianus, practised with Seuerus that Bassianus should marrie with his only daughter: and incõtinently, the elder sonne of Seuerus was married vnto the daughter of Plautianus. Plautianus beholding himselfe not onely the alone fauoured, but also father in lawe with Seuerus, it seemed vnto him but a trifle to be Lord of the whole world: and most truly, Plautianus in heaping honour vpon honour, and estate vpon estate, breed his owne destruction: for that men neuer surfet to eate that which is necessarie, but in eating and drinking more then the stomache will beare. Though Plautianus daughter was very faire, of good condition, and brought with her a most rich dowrie, yet did her husband Bassianus, most cruelly hate her: which he discouered both in word and deede, affirming her to be the daughter of a base and vile person, and that hee would one day kill both her and her father: and yet not therewithall satisfied, they did neither sleepe in one chamber, or dine at one table. Bassianus aunswered certaine Romanes that requested him to bee friend with his wife, and to honour his father in law: I giue you Romanes to vnderstand, that I did not marrie, but my father did marrie mée, which I would not haue done if he had cõmaunded me, but to deflowre the daughter, and enioy the treasure of her father: and since it is done, let her seeke an husband, for I will seeke a wife. Plautianus vnderstanding what his sonne Bassianus had said, and that his daughter was not married, but dishonoured, that Seuerus was old & sicke, and that Bassianus held him not as a father in lawe, but as an enimie, determined to reuenge that iniurie: either els to lose both life and honour in the enterprise.

Bassianus informed his father Seuerus, of many tyrannies which Plautianus committed in the common wealth, and Plautianus also complained howe euill hee vsed his daughter: and thus they went on cõfirming their enimitie, and giuing euery day new passions & tedious complaintes vnto Seuerus: but in the end, hee gaue eare vnto the com-

plaints

plaints of Plautianus, as vnto a seruaunt: but vnto Bassianus, as vnto a sonne. Seuerus considering the continuall displeasure giuen him by Plautianus, the tyrannies hee executed in the Empire, the enimitie betwirt him and Bassianus, and that also with his great fauour he esteemed him litle, conceiued that some day he might rise with the Empire: wherefore, from thencefoorth hee neither shewed him good countenaunce, either gaue him so great authoritie in the common wealth.

Plautianus did well perceiue, that he had not onely Bassianus vnto his enimie, but also stode in disgrace of Seuerus: and thought with himselfe, that to escape best cheape, either they would take away his life, or cast him out of fauour: and to deliuer himselfe of so great an infamie, he determined to kill them, to quite himselfe.

CHAP. XVI.

¶ Of a certaine treason that Plautianus had ordeined against Seuerus, and how it was discouered.

The order that Plautianus vsed, or to say better, the disorder that he practised to kill Seuerus and Bassianus, procéeded as from a passioned tyraunt, and not as a man aduised: and so it afterwards redounded to his losse and destruction. The case was thus, there was in Rome a Tribune named Saturninus, natiue of Assyria, who was the greatest friend that Plautianus had, with whome hée did most communicate, to whom he did most commend his secretes, and also for whom he did most pleasure. Plautianus sending for this Saturninus an houre within night, and inclosing themselues within a chamber, said in great secrecie these woordes following.

Plautianus

Plautianus his Oration to Saturninus.

Saturninus, thou knoweſt how great loue I haue borne thee, and how many good deedes I haue done to thee,& thy houſe: wherof there needeth no other token,but the beholding of thee ſo highly aduaunced in the Court, & ſo accepted in my ſeruice,many with me be offended,& at thee al men haue enuie. Friends, parents, acquaintance, recommended, and ſeruaunts, I had for whome to haue done:vnto ſome of whom I was much beholding,& of others I was to haue cõſidered for ſeruice: all theſe notwithſtanding, on thee onely I fixed mine eyes,to magnifie thee: and in thee I imployed my hart to loue thee. I ſent now for thee, to recompt vnto thee my trauels and ſorrowes,to the end thou ſhouldeſt helpe to deliuer mee from them: and herein thou ſhalt perceiue, the affectionate loue which I beare thee, in that I repoſe my confidence in thee, wherein I would not truſt mine owne proper ſonne: for ſonnes thincke not, but howe to inherite their fathers goods,but verie friendes haue care to deliuer their friendes from griefe and ſorrowe. Thou well knoweſt,Saturninus, what great ſeruice I haue done to Seuerus, and ſince my youth haue followed him in the warres. I ſay,I ſerued him ſo young,that I alone am his moſt auncient ſeruaunt: although I bee now the moſt forgotten and abhorred. Setting a part all ſeruices which I haue done for him, and all great daungers that I haue paſſed to deliuer him from perill, I haue borne ſo tender affection vnto my Lord Seuerus,that I left to like him as a man,and did adore him

him as a God: and that this is true, it appeareth moſt cleare, in that I gaue my daughter vnto his ſonne Baſſianus, and my ſelfe to be his perpetuall ſlaue. After I ſpent my youth in his ſeruice, & followed the father throughout the world, his ſonne Baſſianus nouriſhed in my armes from his infancie, I did yeeld him my goods, I gaue him my onely daughter, I gouerned his common wealth in peace, of his euill life I framed in al men an opinion of great vertue, his cruelties and tyrannie I made all men beleeue to be zeale of iuſtice: in ſuch wiſe, that they neuer committed vile deede, that I ſoldered not: either at any time commaunded any difficult matter, that I accompliſhed not. The matter is thus come to paſſe, the Gods permitting, or my ſorrowfull deſtinies procuring, I am fallen into ſo great hatred of Seuerus, and in ſo cruel contempt and enimitie with Baſſianus, that in recompence of al my ſeruice which I haue done them all the dayes of my life, they are nowe determined to take away my life. Thou ſeeſt now, Saturnin⁹, whether it be reaſon that I endure the ſame, whereunto if I ſhould giue place, I ſhould periſh, my houſe ſhould be loſt, the gods vnſerued, the whole Empire eſcandalized: and therefore it is cõuenient, that I execute on them, that which they would execute vpon mee: for that it is more conſonant vnto reaſon, that the euil be corrected of ỹ good, then that the vertuous ſhould come vnder the power of the wicked. Behold Saturninus, what affection I beare thee, that haue layd vp in thy breaſt ſo great a ſecrete, this terrible deede I will put into thy handes: therefore preſently thou muſt depart vnto the Court, and go into his chamber, where Seuerus ſleepeth, and cut off his head: & from Baſſianus his ſonne alſo thou

ſhalt take away his life. Thou ſhalt ſay vnto ỳ guard, at Court, that euen nowe there came vnto mee a poſt out of Aſia, and art ſent by mee, to giue Seuerus intelligence thereof, and goeſt at ſuch an houre, for that daunger dependeth thereon. And ſince thou haſt not beene abaſhed to heare it, be not terrified to performe it: for that I ſweare vnto thee by the immortal gods, that after Seuerus is dead, and I in the poſſeſſion of the Empire, conformable vnto the great perill wherein nowe thou doeſt aduenture thy ſelfe, ſhall be thy rewards that then thou ſhalt receiue.

These and ſuch other thinges Plautianus **ſaid vnto** Saturninus: **who aunſweared, that hée was readie to do his commaundement, vppon condition, that hée would giue him in writing, in what manner he would haue him to kill** Seuerus, **and** Baſſianus **his ſonne: which he deſired to this end, that if in time he ſhould forget the recompence of ſo great a ſeruice, he might ſhewe him that writing, both to remẽber the ſeruice paſt, as alſo the reward vnperformed.** Plautianus **doubted not to giue** Saturninus **a writing ſigned with his owne hand, wherein hee commaunded to kill** Seuerus, **and** Baſſianus **his eldeſt ſonne: the contents of the writing was thus.**

IF Plautianus do requeſt as a friend, and commaund as a Cenſor, that thou Saturninus Tribune, do kill the Emperour Seuerus, and Baſſianus his elder ſonne: and for the ſame I promiſe thee, and by the immortall Gods ſweare vnto thee, that as thou art onely in perill, ſo to make thee ſingular in the Empire.

Saturninus, **as a man ſkilfull and ſubtile, for more aſſuraunce vnto** Plautianus, **vppon his knées kiſt his hand, as though alreadie he had bẽne ſure of the Empire: and then being in ỳ dẽpe of the night, he departeth vnto the Court,**

the

the guard presently giuing place, and the chãberlaines in like maner: who placing himselfe directly before Seuerus as he lay in his bed, said these words. O Seuerus, how careless art thou of the ambassage that thy greatly fauoured Plautianus doth send thée, whose messenger I am, not to giue thée warning (as I do aduise thée) but to kill thée and thy sonne Bassianus: for that as thou hast trusted him with thine honour, and giuen him of thy goodes, it séemeth vnto him also, that thou shouldest serue him with thy life. Great was the admiration of Seuerus, when hee heard what Saturninus said: and yet most true, that presently hee might not beléeue the same, or could thincke that so vile treason might be conteyned in Plautianus: but rather ỹ his sonne Bassianus had bëne the inuenter thereof, to lead him into disdaine and hatred against Plautianus. Bassianus being lodged within his father, at his voyce did awake and came forth, whome his father Seuerus reproued & blamed with words very sharpe, for the inuention of so great euill: and sware (by the immortal Gods) to receiue him from thenceforth into his further grace and fauour, in the way of reuenge, for so great an impietie: for Plautianus was not a man to haue any such thought in his heart. And as Bassianus had not heard the beginning of Saturninus speach, so was hee abashed to sée his father so grœuously offended: wheruppon Saturninus seeing the incredulitie of the Emperour Seuerus, & how entirely he loued Plautianus, puld forth his writing, wherein hee was commaunded to kill both him & his sonne: and further, did humbly craue, that Plautianus might be sent for, with aduertisement, that Seuerus and his sonne were slaine, and then it should be séene that he would come apparelled not in silk, but in yron. One was sent as from Saturninus, vnto Plautianus to come to Court, where, at his arriuall finding all in silence, Saturninus met him at the chamber dore, & receiuing him as new Emperour, vppon his knées did kisse his hands, and taking him by the hand in ỹ darke, said he would direct him where Seuerus was strangled, and his sonne Bassianus slaine.

Plautianus thinking all safe & sure that Saturninus saide, entered the chāber alone, where Seuerus & Bassianus with certaine assistants were readie to receiue them: whome, when hée beheld liuing, that hée had thought to be dead, he chaunged countenaunce, and lost his speach.

" A long time was Seuerus reprehending Plautianus, " putting him in remembraunce of all thinges which he had " done for him, and in especiall, so many & great displeasures " which he had passed for his sake, and had aduaunced him a- " boue all persons in the Empire, and aboue all the rest, had " reuenged him of all his enimies. After Plautianus had a " little recouered himself, he bowed his knées before his lord " Seuerus, and with teares began to craue pardon for his of- " fence, promising amendment in time to come, saying: that " for his owne cause, hee ought to pardon him, although hee " wanted all deseruing for any mercie, but to take away all " occasion of reporte in the Empire, that euer he had fauou- " red so wicked a person. Beholding Plautianus teares, the " promises which he made, the hoarie head & beard that he " so tare, and the great loue that he had borne him, Seuerus " was in a maner determined to pardon him: but in the end, " being found to be clad in a shirt of male, wheron Bassianus " laying his hand, said. Tell mee Plautianus, into princes " chambers at such an houre as this, do seruauntes enter ap- " parelled in silke, or armed with yron; I sweare vnto thee " by the immortall Gods, since thou bringest yron to kill " vs, thou shalt here die with yron. And hardly had en- " ded these words, when he began to stab him with his dag- " ger, whoe presently fell downe dead, and was beheaded: " whose head was fixed vppon a launce ouer the port of Ho- " stia, the body deliuered vnto boyes to trayle alongest the " streates of Rome.

This was the ende and conclusion of the fauoured and priuate Plautianus, whome Fortune first aduaunced, and follie afterwards cast away.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ Of the particular vices and vertues of Seuerus.

The newes being spread throughout Rome, that Plautianus was dead, al the people toke great pleasure: and no lesse would haue ioyed, if Plautianns had slaine Seuerus and his sonne Bassianus: for that all three were so euil wished in the common wealth, that the least euill which they would them in the common wealth, was but death. The offices that Plautianus held in the common wealth, Seuerus diuided amongest the Tribunes, simple and plaine mē, and not giuen to trouble: but the loue and fauour which he had vnto Plautianus, he neuer after committed vnto any person: for as afterwardes he said, he knew not whome to trust, since his priuate and fauoured seruaunt Plautianus would murther him. Plautianus being dead, there was none that might suffer or indure ȳ cruelties of the prince Bassianus, or tollerate his tyrannies: for Bassianus stoode in awe of Plautianus, partly for that he was his father in lawe, as also for that he had bred him from his infancie. Seuerus considering his sonnes Bassianus & Geta to increase in age, & decrease in wit, caused wilde beasts to be brought for them to kill, horses to runne, inuenting new playes to practise, & therein to occupie their persons, diuerting their mindes to those games, to remoue them from vices. Finding no profite to lead his sonnes to vertue by those warlike exercises, he would cal them in secrete, and tel them of many old examples, how such and such princes were cast away by discord: and that the same mischance must happen vnto them, if they did not behaue themselues as friends, & fauour eche other as brothers: for that with concord smal things increase, & by discord great things came to nought. Besids that, ȳ two brethren were ouerthwart in maners, and peruerse of conditions, (as before hath bene said) their

tutours did them much hurt: that is to say, in dissembling their vices, & inciting them to greater enimities: whereof Seuerus being aduertised, some of them he banished, some he dispatched, & some he drowned in welles: affirming that they deserued more punishment that kindled enimities, then the persons that did execute them. Plautianus left a daughter, that was wife vnto Bassianus, and her sonne nephue vnto Seuerus, and sonne vnto Bassianus: as well the mother that was young, as ỹ sonne which was a child they banished into Sicyl, giuing them of al that which they had, no more but to serue them wherw̃ to eate: which Seuerus did, not for enuie that he bare to his nephue & daughter in law, but not to offẽd his sonne Bassianus. Seuerus did vaunt himself, ỹ his predecessours had bin of a citie in Africa, named Tripol, which he did nobilitate, not only in buildings, but also in rents & priuileges, and plãted there an orchard of Oliue trées, which did yéld so great quantitie of oyle, ỹ it was sufficient for a great part of Africa and Italie. Seuerus was a friend of wisemẽ, fauoured, studious, & delt very well with such as were learned: but ioyntly with this, hée did most abhorre them, if they were either ouerthwart, or troublesome: for he vsed to say, that fooles set neighbours at variance, but men that were wise & malicious brought kingdomes together by the eares. He was also inclined to read bwks, and to vnderstand antiquities: & if he might not by his important affaires read himselfe, he made others to read: and further, if he chaunced to be so busied, ỹ he might not read himselfe, either heare reading, at such times they read vnto him when he was eating, or whẽ he went to bed.

" He himselfe did write his owne life, & did write it as truly
" as if he had bẽn a chronicler, that is to say, praising his vic-
" tories, & reprehending his vices: and also most truly, made
" report of all men that he kild, but not of the smal reason ỹ
" he had so to do. Seuerus was much blamed for his great co-
" uetise of gwds, & for want of care & negligẽce of his honour:
" for ỹ his wife Iulia was a cõmon adultéresse, whom he did
" neither chastice, or put away: neither is it written, ỹ euer

he did

he did aduise or blame her. It was sufficient for Seuerus to know his wife to be euil, to be named Iulia, whiche name was euer infamous amongest ỹ womẽ of Rome. Although he were an enimie of vices, and of vicious mẽ, much more was he enimie of thæues, aboue all other kinde of wicked people: and so is it said and found of him, that he did beare with many malefactors, but neuer pardoned any thæfe. In his apparel he was not curious or costly, but alwaies was apparelled as a man of great sobernes: especially, much cõmended, that in his Empire he neuer beheld any person in Rome clad with silke or purple. Also in his fæding he was not disordinate, & yet truly of certaine fruits of Africa giuẽ to fæde somewhat ouermuch, and vsed to say, that they had a better relishe then others: for that being a child, hee was bred with them. Hé delighted also more to eate fishe then flesh, and sometimes passed an whole moneth without the tast of any flesh: the flesh that he best loued was mutton, & of fish, the Trout. In many cities of ỹ Empire, they made by his comaundement very notable workes: especially in the citie of Tripol in Africa, where he was borne, he made there a fort, & an house, & compassed it with a very stronge wall. He was a prince very careful, that the citie of Rome should alwayes be well prouided, which was manifested at his death, at what time they found vij. yeares prouision in wheat and oyle.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ How Seuerus passed into great Britaine, where he died.

SEuerus being settled in securitie, and intending certaine buildinges in Rome, receiued letters from ỹ gouernour of great Britaine, which now is named England, ỹ a great part of the Iland was reuolted from the seruice of Rome: and to appease & force them to obedience, his presence was right necessarie: because the Prefect himselfe was not only denied al obedience, but they sought meanes also to kill him. Seuerus was not displeased with this newes, although he were both old and sickly: for that he alwayes desired the

offer of great things to magnifie his fame, and perpetuate his memorie. Seuerus also was pleased with those warres, to haue occasion to withdraw his sonnes from the vices of Rome: and so it came to passe, that his elder sonne Bassianus he made captaine of the armie that he led by land: & to his younger sonne Geta, he gaue the charge of his armie & nauie that passed by sea. Seuerus at the soudeine and unprouided, assailed the Britaines, who at that instãt they understoode of his arriuall in the Ile, sent their Ambassadours: partly to yeeld accompt, and partly to discharge themselues of their rebellion, as also to set downe betwixt them a certeine concord, which Seuerus would neither yeeld unto, or abide to heare off: for he vented rather to obteine ỹ renoune of Britaine, then for any reason to make them warre. His armies being disimbarked, & the Ambassadours dispatched, euery man prepared, the one to offend, and the other to defend: Seuerus first prouided bridges, wheruppon his horsemen might passe, & his foote men auoyd occasion to swim.

" The Britaines of that part of Britaine, in those dayes, had a " custome in time of warre, to encounter their enimies in lakes & waters, where they did place themselues vp vnto the " arme pits, and from thence did fight and shew their skil: & " when their enimies did shote or whirle their dartes, they " would stope or diue vnder water: in such wise, that it chãced thrée sundrie times, that neuer happened in any part " of the world: which is to witt, that 100. naked men, ouercame 1000. armed persons. Whẽ at any time they would " fight in the field, they vsed certaine targets after the maner of bucklers, & halfe swords girt vppon their bare flesh. " All matters apperteining vnto the warres brought vnto perfection, Seuerus confirmed his younger sonne Geta, gouernour of a certaine place of the Iland that had not rebelled, and kept his elder sonne Bassianus nére vnto his owne person: executing cruel warres vppon the Barbarians, who vppon determination to doe hurte, or offend their enimies, dyed with great hardinesse: and vppon other determination, would put themselues to flighte: in whiche

flight

slight their enimies alwayes had the woorse.

The warres being trauersed after this manner, the gowt did grieuously increase vppon Seuerus, in such manner, that he could neither go out of his campe, either sitt in counsel with his capteines: in so much, that he was constrained to commende the whole charge of the armie vnto his sonne Bassianus, who more did practise secreately to frame hatred amongest the armies vnto his brother Geta, then to make conquest of the enimies. Bassianus so much reioyced of his fathers griefe, and had so great care to inherite, that he sawe no houre, wherein he wished not his fathers death. Not meaning to leaue any euil vnperfourmed that touched an euil nature, adding euill vnto euill, he suborned the Physicians that did cure him, and the seruaunts that serued him, in such wise, the one to serue him, and the other cure him, that if the gowte did not finish him, poison shoulde dispatche him. Although no man said vnto Seuerus any one woorde, he did well perceiue what his sonne Bassianus desired: and so it came to passe, that beholding the disobedience which his sonne did beare him, & howe euil his seruaunts serued him, and howe slenderly his Physician did visite him: although he were olde and sickely, he died of pure sorrowe, and melancholy. The last woordes which Seuerus saide, before he dyed, they saye were these. When I tooke the Empire, I founde the common wealth throughout the worlde in trouble, and nowe I dye, I leaue it in peace: and although I dye without power to testar ny firmar, yet I leaue the Empire firme vnto my two sonnes Antonines: if they shal proue good, they remaine exactly made princes: and if they shal be euil, I leaue them nothing. Before Seuerus dyed, he commaunded two Fortunes of gold to be made, for either of his sonnes one: because it was the ensigne of the Empire, to take away all occasion after his death, for any of them, by him selfe, or for him selfe, to be aduaunced with the Empire, but equally to remaine in power and estate. This was the ende of Seuerus, whome his enimies might

" not kill with armes: and yet with griefe and sorrowe was
" slaine by his sonnes . Seuerus liued three score and fifténe
" yeres,and reigned two and twentie yeres:his bones were
" burnt, and the ashes carried to Rome.
" Of this Emperour Seuerus, the Senate determi-
" ned that, which of no other prince was determined,name-
" ly, Illum aut nasci non debuisse, aut mori: whiche is to
" saye: It had beene good (in respect of his cruelties which
" he did) he had not beene borne : and since that he was
" borne,(in consideration of the profite which he did in the
common wealth) it had beene good he had not died.

The life of the Emperour Bassianus, sonne vnto Seuerus, compiled by syr Anthonie of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, and counseller vnto the Emperour Charles the fifte.

CHAP. I.

¶ Howe Bassianus and his brother Geta did inherite the Empire of their father Seuerus.

PResently after the death of the Emperour Seuerus in great Britaine, his two sonnes, Bassianus and Geta, did succéd him in the Empire, betwixt whome there was extreme discorde and cruell hatred: for, notwithstanding in bloude they were brothers, yet in wil & works they dealt as enimies. As Bassian⁹ was elder brother, and also more cauillous & troublesome, so he began secretely to practise and subborne the capteines of the

the armie to him onely to giue the Empire, and to exclude Geta his younger brother from the inheritaunce: and to drawe them vnto his purpose, he spake swéete wordes, blinded them with faire promises of greate hope, and also gaue them riche Iewels. Nothing might Baſsianus attaine with the capteines of his armie, for that euery one in particular, and all in generall, made him aunswer, that since they were sonnes vnto their lord Seuerus, and bothe brethren, and ioyntly had sworne vnto them as their Lordes and Princes, it were not iuſt they should be traytours in their promise vnto their father: or shoulde make a breache of their othe, that in the temples they had sworn vnto the Gods.

After that Baſsianus might not corrupt the armie with wordes, déedes, or giftes, he toke peace with the Britans, to the ende presently to departe towardes Rome: and his brother Geta being aduertiſed that Baſsianus sought the Empire vnto him selfe, which the father Seuerus had lefte vnto them both, grewe into great hatred & disdaine with his brother: in such wise, that from thencefoorth, the two brethren behaued them selues, not only as vtter enimies, but also the courte was diuided into bandes. Baſsianus & Geta were brethren by the father, but not by the mother: for that Baſsianus was his sonne by his firſt wife, and Geta by Iulia whiche was the second wife. Geta his mother, and the auncient and honourable Romanes that were remaining after the death of Seuerus, did not a little trauaile to confederate and set them at agréement: but in the ende, they were neither conuinced with the infinite teares of the mother, either might be perſuaded by the great requeſtes and inſtant intreatance of their friendes. The affaires of Britaine being set in order, the two brethren much without order, departed towardes Rome, carrying with them the reliques of their father Seuerus, that is to say, his bones made ashes, which in all cities, as they paſſed, were receiued with as great reuerence, as if Seuerus had béene aliue.

From

From the time that Baſsianus & Geta departed from Britaine, vntil they entred Rome, they neuer lodged in one lodging, or feede at one table, or had conference vppon the waye, but had of eache other great ſuſpicion: yea in meat and drinke to haue receiued poyſon. To go in ſo greate doubt and ſuſpicion, was cauſe of ſmall ſtaye vppon the waye, although it were very long: and before their comming vnto Rome, either of them had ſent their ſecreate meſſengers, not onely to take vp the beſt lodginges in Rome, but alſo to ſolicite and to winne the willes of the common wealth, becauſe they conceiued, that they might not ioyntly be conſerued in their ſeignioꝛie, but that one muſt remaine with the Empire. That day on which Baſsianus and Geta his brother ſhoulde enter Rome, all Rome came forth to receiue them, which was mixed wᵗ ioye and ſoꝛrowe: ſoꝛrowe, foꝛ the death and buriall of Seuerus: and ioye, foꝛ that his childꝛen were come aliue to reigne in his ſteade. Entring into the citie, the two brethꝛen and newe Emperours went beforе, appareled in purple, on horſſebacke: after them, came the Senatours all on foote, who bare on their ſhoulders, a cheſt of Unicoꝛne, wherein was placed the aſhes of Seuerus: ſuch perſons as attended the dead went weeping: and thoſe that accompanied Baſsianus & Geta went ſinging. Being entred into the citie, and the day farre ſpent, they went vnto the temple of the greate Emperour Marcus Aurelius, where the two newe Pꝛinces fell on their knees to adoꝛe his ſepulchꝛe, as a moſte holie man, and there beſtowed the aſhes of their father Seuerus. Beforе Seuerus departed vnto the ſecond warres of Britaine, he had begon a moſt ſumptuous ſepulchꝛe in the fielde of Mars: amongeſt other oꝛnaments that it had, were ſeuen pillers poliſhed verie high and ſtately, wherein was grauen all his actes and victoꝛies: but his life firſt was finiſhed, beforе his ſepulture was ended.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

¶Howe in Rome they burie their Emperours, and of greate ceremonies which there they vſed.

After that Baſſianus and Geta his brother had repoſed the body of their father Seuerus in the temple of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, preſently they beganne to conſecrate his body, and to place his ſoule with the Gods, accordinge to the cuſtome of the Romans: whiche ceremony was not done, but vnto dead Emperours: and the order thereof was thus. Preſently vpon the death of an Emperour, the Senate did aſſemble to determine, if hee deſerued to be buried with the Godes, either els after his burial to leaue him to obliuion as other men: and if he had beene euill, the Senate woulde be abſent at his buriall: and if he had bene good, all clad in blacke, woulde attend to conſecrate his body. And to do the ſame, their firſte attempt was to bury the body of the deade prince without any ceremonie, and then made him an image of woode after the manner of a ſicke and colourleſſe man, which they placed alofte vpon a ſcaffolde ouer the Courte gate: and that image, although it were of a ſicke man, yet did they clad it with garmentes of ſilcke and golde, as though the counterfeite were aliue. In the hight of that ſcaffolde, or throne, the Senate were ſet on the leſte hande, and on the right hand all the matrones of Rome: of whome none might be apareled richly, either deckt with iuels of gold or ſtone: but all perſones were there clad in white, for that all white apparell in Rome was counted mourning. The Senatours and matrones were placed and ſett at the riſinge of the ſunne, and did not riſe vntill the ſunne was ſet: there might they neither ſpeake, or gaze about, but all that time was conſumed in ſighing, weeping, and wayling

From

From houre to houre, Physicians came and went to visite that Image, and so did raise, beholde, and fele his pulses, as if the Emperour him selfe had bene there alive, and alwayes at their parting would report vnto the Senatours and ladies, that the sicke person drewe on to death. At which newes, the matrones did grite and shriche, and the Senatours did wepe and waile. This order they vsed seuen dayes together, but first vpon the firt day, the Physicians did forsake the sicke person, and finally, on the seuenth day manifestly would publish his death: presently after he was denounced for dead, placeing the handles of the baire whereon the Image of the dead was laide vpon their shoulders, the chiefest and moste honourable Senatours on horsebacke did beare the same: and after this maner went vnto the place named Vaicia, and might not go by any other way but by the sacred waye, whiche was a tracke where no man durst passe, but Emperours that were dead and priestes that were alive. In that place named Vaicia, there was another buylding made of stone, after the manner of a Throne, hauing on bothe sides degrées and staires to mount aloft, where they did place the Image of the dead Emperour: vpon the one staires, stode children, the sonnes of the gentlemen of Rome, and on the other parte stode the damsels and virgins of Rome, and there did singe many sorrowfull songes and hymnes, published in the praise of the dead. From thence they remoued the baire with the Image of the dead, vnto the fielde of Mars, where also was made another scaffold, all of drie wode, vnder the vaut whereof was laide stubble, stalkes, and strawe, and other kindling matter to burne: the outside was brauely painted, and hanged with rich tapestrie, and aloft vpon the highest parte thereof, they placed the Image of the dead Emperour. On the day in which this ceremonie was performed in Rome, they did concurre to beholde the same from all partes of Italie: and euerye Lord and ladie that was present, did throwe vppon the degrées of that Throne, Myrre, incense, aloes, amber, roses,

and

and other thinges of fragrant ſauours. When all men had offered their ſwæt perfumes, the Senatours did ſkirmiſh on horſſeback, and preſently after them the two Cõſuls gaue a boylt aloft on their chariots gorgeouſly adorned: and after them there followed on foote, all the auncient Romanes and neighbourhod of Rome, and all ſuch as had bæne captaines of the warres: all which after they had gone a turne about the Throne, fel downe groueling, exclaming very lowde againſt the ground. After the thræ proceſſions were done, which is to wæte, of ẏ Senatours, of the Conſuls, and of the capteines, came he that did inherite the Empire, who with a burning torche, gaue fire to that Throne, whiche being all of drye ſtuffe, preſently was conſumed. Before the beginning of this great ceremonie, the Senate ſought out againſt that day a braue Eagle, which was placed betwixt the handles of ẏ baire, wt ere the Image of the dead was laide: with great ſkill and ſubtiltie, at the time that the Image burnt, the Eagle was loſed and flewe away: and as her proper nature is to flye vpwarde, all men ſaide with loude voices, that it was the ſoule of the dead Emperour, that was gone to the Goddes vp to heauen. As oft as ye ſhall finde theſe words written of any Prince or notable perſonage, namely: Inter diuos relatus eſt, that is, they haue placed him with the Gods, all theſe ceremonies were done vnto him: vnto ſuch a one, from thenceforth, they might ſacrifice, adore, make temples, and place Prieſtes, in ſuch manner, they had to honour him as a God, and not to talke of him, as of a man.

CHAP. IIII.

¶Of the mortall hatred betwixt Baſsianus and Geta his brother.

After the two brethren had accompliſhed the funerall office of their father Seuerus, they went bothe to lodge

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in the sacred palace: not ioyntly, but parting the lodging betwixt them, euery one placing porters by them selues, and their gard to attende vpon them. Although their lodging was one, yet their willes and disposition were diuers: and suche as had to deale in matters of importance, conferred not with them, but with their mother: who toke the opinion of the one, and so of the other, whiche afterwardes was perfourmed by aduise and consent of the Senate: because otherwise the common wealth shoulde haue runne at randon and be lost. These two Princes neuer ioyntly came forth, but when they went to the Senate, or to visite the temple of the greate Emperour Marcus Aurelius: for Seuerus had commaunded, that weekely they should offer sacrifices in that temple, and monethly his heires should visite that sepulchre. Bassianus and his brother Geta, had small care to visite temples, offer sacrifices, go to the Senate, reforme the comon wealth, either prouide necessarie matter for the warres: but all their bent and studie was, the one to beguile the other, & to winne the willes of the people: to the ende that one being dead, the other might reigne without contradiction. Both the brethren being thus diuided, and bothe leading the Empire into bandes: notwithstanding that bothe had enimies and friendes, yet alwayes the greater parte of the common wealth were more affectionate to the younger sonne, which was Geta. Geta was white and redde, high, sharpe, milde, nimble, of greate lightnesse, and of verie good condition: and yet in respect of reigning he was as proude as Bassianus. Bassianus his brother was a sallowe blacke, cholerike adust, little of bodie, broade forehead, muche skinne on his handes, hollowe and hoarse of voice, preignant, subtile, diligent, and a lyar: for if he néded any thing, he would flatter all men with faire words, and after ended all things in lies. The diuisions euery day proceedinge from euil to worse, it was beyonde all mennes powers, to bring them agreed, or make them friendes: they bothe deuised, without aduertisement of

any

any perſon to diuide the Empire: the manner was, that all kingdomes ſhould equally be diuided in two partes, & that the name of Emperour ſhould be indifferent vnto them both.

There was allotted vnto Baſsianus all Europe, & vnto Geta his brother the kingdoms of Aſia: and the end wherfore they diuided the Empire, was, not to be friendes from thencefoorth, but to haue libertie, men, and riches, to riſe with Rome: and he that might do moſt, to diſpatche the other of his life. When this agreement was made, they determined to call their mother Iulia, and all the auncient ſeruauntes and friendes of the houſe of Seuerus their father: vnto whome Baſsianus gaue to vnderſtand, how his brother and he had agréed, and were become friendes: and their agrément was, that they had diuided the Empire, he remaining with the eſtate and ſeat of Rome, and Geta his brother hauing Antioche the head of his Empire, and the eſtate of all Aſia. As Baſsianus then ſaide, ſo it was agréed, that ỹ goods of the patrimonie were diuided in three partes, two partes for the two brethren, and the third for Iulia their mother: and further, that all Senatours, capteines, and other notable perſons of the Empire, frely (if they ſo liked) might go with Geta into Aſia, or remaine with Baſsianus in Rome. There was no man there that liked this agrément, much leſſe allowed ỹ ſame: for they all did ſée it was but fained, and that ere long the Empire would be inflamed with warres, as in the dayes of Iulius Cæſar and Pompeyus, of Cæſar Auguſtus, and Marcus Antonius. Although all men were grieued with ỹ which was ſaide, yet all men did both diſſemble and kéepe ſilence, w̃ ſad countenance caſting their eyes to the ground: which their mother Iulia, poſſeſſing patience in ſufficient, aunſwered and ſaide vnto them as followeth.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ Of an excellent ſpeache vttered by the mother vnto her ſonnes.

I may wel call ye ſonnes (O children of my heart) ſince thou Geta proceededſt from mine intrailes, & thee Baſsianus I haue nouriſhed with my breaſtes: & I ſweare by the immortall Gods, that much greater is the loue that I bare thee, then the affinitie which I haue with thy brother. Thou well knoweſt Baſsianus, that from the firſt houre that I came to the court, & was wife vnto thy father Seuerus, I had the name of mother in lawe, & the works of a perfect mother: and that many times thou didſt requeſt mee to cheriſh thy brother Geta, for that it ſeemed vnto thee he was not fauoured: in ſuch wiſe, that if he be the only perſon that I haue borne, thou only waſt he that was cheriſhed. I haue great reaſon to call you my children, & to bewaile you as children, to talke with you as children: for on the day ẏ the one proceeded frō my bowels, the other entred into my harte. Maruell ye not to ſee mee powre forth ſo many teares, & at euery worde to be diſmaide & ſwoone? for, as ye ſee my ſorrowfull eyes, ſo may you behold my lamentable heart: ye ſhould well perceiue it guſh out more with bloud, then mine eyes doe flowe with teares. If my husbande & your father ſhoulde heare that which I heare, and ſhould ſee that which I ſee, it would grieue him that euer ye were borne: and no leſſe, that euer he begate you: becauſe you wil giue no credite vnto your friendes, either obey me your ſorrowfull mother, or perfourme his will & cōmaundemēt. Wherfore do ye ſeeke the whole for one, ſince he left the ſame for bothe? what an heauie matter is this my children? the Gods haue created ye brethren, and you haue conuerted your ſelues enimies: the glory which ye poſſeſſe, to haue had ſuch a father: ye would quite

him

him with ſo much griefe, to haue ſo frowarde children. To leaue the Empire entire, your father ſlewe Iulianus, Peſſenius Niger, and Albinius, that helde it diuided in three partes: and nowe againe ye will diuide and rent it in pieces. Do ye not vnderſtand, howe Princes that haue their willes vnited, neede not to diuide their countries? Haue ye not heard ſay, that to obteine honour, & to defende that which we poſſeſſe, for theſe two only things, & for no other cauſe warre is raiſed betwixt kinges and princes? If this be true (as it is) and both you falling out for goods, knowe ye not, that your father onely of him ſelf, hath left ye more then all the Princes of the worlde haue left vnto them? And if it ſo be, that ye ſtriue for the attainement of honour, I knowe not to what ende ye would haue more honour, then to be Emperours of Rome. O immortall Gods! I inuocate, and moſte humbly pray you, that ye deale not according to the childiſhneſſe of theſe young men, but agreeable vnto the great ſeruice which their father hath done you, & the abundance of teares which their lamentable mother hath powred foorth: for otherwiſe, the memory of my Lord Seuerus ſhal periſh & be loſt, & the maieſtie of ỹ Empire put in great danger. If we did think (my children) ỹ this diuiſion of the Empire, might be an occaſiõ frõ henceforth to deale & liue like brethrẽ, we would hold it all for good, and thinke it all right well: but what doth it profite, that ye haue diuided the Empire onely in two partes: and ye twaine remaine diuided in an hundreth thouſande differences? If ye wil be fauoured of the Gods, & obeyed of men, call to remembrance your fathers commaundement: condeſcend vnto your mothers requeſt, and yealde

your ſelues vnto the iudgement of your friendes: for that young Princes do neuer knowe to gouerne wel, if they permitt not to be gouerned of the vertuous. Conſider children, that ye are but younglings, and in great affaires haue ſmall experience: and that your youth ſhall leade you vnto many vices, & your ſmal experience cauſe you to fall in great & many errours. Alſo (my children) ye haue to conſider, that ye poſſeſſe your heartes too much paſsioned, and go inuironed with many lyars: which two thinges be moſt cruell and enorme, in the perſons & houſes of princes: becauſe with their paſsion, they committ much iniuſtice, and by lies, they cloake many foule and pernicious deedes. The paſsioned and furious hearte is ſufficed with his owne furie, to be lead into all errours: and the lyar defendeth him from all knowlege and acquaintaunce of his owne fault. If ye remember your ſelues, that ye be men, and that I am a woman, with great reaſon ye might haue ſmall regarde vnto that which I do ſay: but if ye conſider that ye be my children, and I your mother, greate eſtimation ſhould ye conceiue of my counſelles: for that credite which I loſe to be a woman, I recouer for that I am your mother. If ye did loue your father, as your father loued you, your ſorrowful mother ſhould haue no cauſe ſo much to perſuade you to be friendes: for that to remoue all cauſes to bring his honour in diſputation, ye would refuſe & caſt behind you all intereſt whatſoeuer of any goods. Since ye will not liue in peace, in as muche as it toucheth the ſeruice vnto the Gods, and the great miſchiefes that muſt follow your owne perſons, and the infamie wherewith ye ſhall infect your dead father, yet ſhoulde ye doe the

ſame,

ſame, for the loue and behalfe of your liuing mother: becauſe the diſſentions, trauelles, and infidelities of the children, many they be that doe beholde them: but in the ende, the mothers do onely bewaile them. Againſt the teſtament of your father, without the will of your mother, contrarie vnto the cuſtome of the Senate, and without aduiſe of any friend, ye haue betwixt you diuided the empire, leauing me vnto my ſelfe to be diuided: wherein, ſpeaking conformably vnto iuſtice, it had beene more reaſon ye ſhould haue diuided your owne proper mother, then the landes & countries of others. O immortal Gods, why haue ye taken away my Lord Seuerus vnto your ſelues, and left me placed in ſo many daungers and trauels? ſince ye haue giuen me two children, why was not giuen me two heartes? and if I craue two hearts, it is but to loue them: but two thouſand hearts wil not ſuffice to endure their vnkindneſſe. O my children, (although no children of my counſelles) for that, though ye be mine by birth, yet are ye become ſtraungers by diſobedience. I knowe not my childrē, what to ſay more vnto you: but ſince ye be twaine, and my heart but one: that ye pull it foorth, & open it in the middeſt, and diuide it as ye haue diuided the Empire: and yet by the veſtall mother, I ſweare vnto you, that if ye opened my heart, and made ſearch therein, ye ſhoulde finde in the ſame the greatneſſe of my loue, but much more, that I ſuffer and am tormented.

CHAP. V.

¶Howe *Baſsianus*, to obteine the Empire vnto him ſelfe, ſlewe his brother in his mothers armes.

IT was lamentable to heare the Empresse Iulia, but much more to beholde her, who seeing her children so extremely diuided, and so farre from fraternitie, at euery worde which shée saide, the Heauens did cleaue with sighes, and the ground was watered with teares. At the instant shée finished her talke, shée rose from her chayre, & going to her sonnes, with the right hande shée taketh *Bassianus*, and Geta with the left, imbraceing them with her selfe, trauelling to cause them to imbrace, and to be reconciled and ioyning all their thrée faces together, with ỹ aboundaunt teares of the mother, the faces of her sonnes were all wett and bedewed. Many Romanes that were present began to mourne, in hearing what Iulia saide, and afterwardes howe with her children shée did behaue her selfe: no man replyed or spake more wordes, in as much as all men did allowe that which the mother saide: and improued the diuision of the Empire which the sonnes had made.

The heartes of these two Princes were so muche passioned, and ioyntly therewith of nature so indurate, that when the mother did talke vnto them, it seemed not, but that they were thinking of some other matter: which had most perfect apparaunce, because at that time they were neither moued with compassion of her teares, either afterwardes did take any profite of her counsell. The mother only profited not in her trauelle to reconcile them, but that from thencefoorth they ceased not to discouer greter hatred: that is to saye, in that either of them sought to corrupt each others blood, promising greate wealth in Rome to be giuen vnto him that would confect his lordes meate with poyson. When *Bassianus* perceiued, that he might not (by any meane) dispatche his brother Geta with poyson, and ioyntly therewith, that the Romanes were somewhat inclined vnto him by affection, determined on a daye, when all persons were moste inclined to slæpe at after none, to go vnto the lodging of his mother Iulia,

with

with whome Geta remained: and finding them at their reſt, he gaue Geta ſo many ſtabbes with a dagger, that he was bereft of his life. When Baſsianus ſet vpon his brother Geta, the mother to ſaue him, caſt her ſelfe vppon him: notwithſtanding he ceaſed not to wound him, and kill him. The caſe was thus, that with one blowe he both wounded his brother, and imbrewed the garment of the mother: and finally, the brother remained dead, and the mothers garments defiled.

This done Baſsianus goeth forth through al the court, exclaming with a loude voyce, and with greate feare and trembling: treaſon, treaſon, my brother Geta would haue ſlaine me by treaſon in my bed, and if I had not leapt out at a windowe, and the deſtinies beene fauourable vnto mee at that inſtant, I had not eſcaped with life: and not ſatisfied with that which was ſaide, he commaunded his garde to conduct him out of the court, and to garde and attende him vnto mount Celius, where the Prætorian bands were lodged, infourminge that in ỹ palace there was no ſafetie: for that his brother had attempted to murther him.

All men that heard the exclamation that Baſsianns made, did beleeue that all things had paſſed as he had ſaid: and the Eſquiers of the bodie did accompanie and attende him, vntil they had brought him amongeſt the Prætorians: and entring the tent where they had their armour and pendons, kneeling vppon his knees, hee gaue greate thankes vnto the Gods, that had preſerued him vnto that place: and alſo vnto his garde, that had ſuccoured him in time of ſo great neede. To beholde Baſsianus go at ſuche an houre, with ſo greate an heate, through the middeſt of Rome, and that with ſo great furie, all that beheld him were eſcandalized: and did imagine amongeſt them ſelues, that he had ſlaine his brother, or done ſome vile deede vnto his mother in lawe. Aſſoone as he ſawe him ſelfe amongeſt the Prætorians, he diuided amongeſt them, two thouſande & fiue hundreth drachmes of golde, according

to the weight of Athens: & further, promised to giue them yerely, wheate to furnish their families, besides their ordinarie wages. The fame being divulgate throughout Rome, and the trueth knowen of the great treason which Basianus had committed, Geta his friends ioyned to seeke him, with a determined purpose extremely to haue reuenged Geta: and as the matter was put to armes, and came to hande gripes, Geta his friendes being the fewer in number, were sone ouercom: which although they were subdued, yet truely deserue no dispraise: being but fewe in number, seeing their Lorde dead, and Basianus in possession of the armie, they wanted no hardinesse to fight, & no lesse courage to dye: but what shall we saye, but that if their quarell were iust, their fortune was verie crosse. Small aduantageth it that the minde be generous, and the bodie warlike, if he that taketh armes be vnfortunate: for that one houre of happie fortune, is more woorth then all policies of warre. Greate was the compassion that all men conceiued of the cruell death of Geta, and no lesse was the hate which they did beare vnto *Basianus*, not only to kill him vppon so greate assurance, but also to murther him in a place of so great priuiledge, that is to saye, within the sacred palace, & imbraced within the breastes of his mother. When *Basianus* sawe that his brother Geta was dead, all his alies and seruaunts ouercome, & that whatsoeuer he had attempted with temeritie, succeeded with great prosperitie: he went vnto the temples, and toke from thence all their treasure, in such wise, hee toke away in one daye, that which manie princes had giuen in many yeres. A greate quantitie of those treasures *Basianus* diuided amongest his Pretorians: who seeing themselues riche in money, and that their enimies were subdued, went into Rome, began to enter into the houses, and killed all persons with whome they had vnkindnesse: but that which was more odious, vppon wagers would kill a whole kinred, vntil they left no persone, in whome any remembrance might remaine.

Many

Many noble persons were determined to haue slaine Bassianus, in the beginning of his Empire: which they left not vndone for his deseruing, either for want of will, but for doubt that after his death, many should rise with the Empire: for presently they thought it lesse euill to suffer one, then to resist many.

Now when Bassianus sawe himselfe rich in treasure of the temples, and obeyed of the Pretorians, he determined to mount aloft vpon the high Capitol, and there to speake vnto the Senat: partly to giue accompt of that which was done, and partly to giue them to vnderstãd what he would doe. Being placed in the middest of the Senate, and set in the imperiall chaire, and euery man vsing silence, he said after this manner.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Of a certaine speach vsed of Bassianus vnto the Senate, excusing himselfe of the death of his brother Geta.

ALthough in age I am but younge, and in mine attemptes reputed as rash, yet I cease not to confesse that I am in great hatred with the people: and that my death should as much content them, as now my life is displeasant vnto them. And as princes are in the view of all persons, so are all their works iudged of al men: and from thence it procedeth, that their iust attempts are praised of many, but their errours condemned of all. They that presume to iudge the woorkes of princes, are not alwayes so iuste, that they iudge continually conformable vnto iustice: for as many times they praise the prince with lies: so it may happen, ỹ they accuse them with malice. One of the extremest tra-

uels that princes haue, is: that such as throng in themselues to talke of our liues, and to examine our deeds and actes, they talke not as we liue, but as we vse and deale with them: for if we honour & magnifie them, they report we be no princes, but gods: but if we chastise and bring them downe, they say wee be no men but furies. Many times princes do chastise many, not because we delight to punish, but ỹ it so agreeth with the imperiall authoritie so to be done: for as with rewardes and pardons wee magnifie our pietie & clemencie, so it is cõuenient, that with rigorous chastisements, wee make our iustice to bee esteemed. Many presume to iudge the vices of princes, which if they were princes, would not onely commit thinges worthie of iudgement, but also iustly to be depriued of the Empire: for the knowledge of good gouernement, is not a thing that men obtaine of themselues: but a gift which the Gods do giue vnto whome they please.

There is no prince so absolute or dissolute, that at the least, in his gouernment desireth not to be iust: but what shall wee doe, that haue no more power but to wish to do well? and the gods onely to giue grace to gouerne well. But comming to the case now chaunced, for which the whole multitude with me be escãdalized: I sweare by the immortall gods, ỹ if the truth as it was were manifested, I should be found without blame: but I am of the one part so vnfortunate, and of th'other part the multitude is so variable, that it many times happeneth, that of my manifest actes they say nothing: and of that which neuer passed my thought, they accuse me. O ye iust gods, vnto you all I appeale as witnesses: who first would haue kild ỹ other, either whether my brother Geta would haue slaine mee, or

I would

I would haue ſlaine him: for ye well vnderſtand, that being repoſed on my bed, he entered vpon me with a naked ſword: with which hee would haue drawne forth my ſoule, if by chaunce I had not found one at my beds head. If hee was the beginner of that quarrel, and that fortune would fauour me at that inſtant, wherefore being vtterly without any fault, ſhould I be blamed of all perſons in Rome? What greater teſtimonie would ye of my innocencie, but reſpecting that hee being the perſon that offended, and I the man that defended my ſelfe, the gods haue brought vppon him, that which hee ment to perfourme on mee: neither in any good iudgement may it be conteined, that if by malice or enuie I would haue ſlaine my brother, that I ſhould execute the ſame by ſtealth, and within the ſacred palace, for that in ſo enorme a caſe, I deſerued not ſo much chaſtiſement for the deede, as to committe the ſame in the place where that was done.

I will not denie, that vnto my brother I was not bound to honour him, loue him, ſuccour him, and to deale well with him: but I will not confeſſe that I was bound, for all treaſons and iniuries to ſuffer him: for as it is honourable for great princes, to diſſemble & pardō iniuries, that are done to them by their inferiours: ſo neceſſarie is it for them to reuenge the diſcourteſies and diſpleaſures, done vnto them by their betters or equals. It is notorious vnto al men, that in times paſt, many princes of the Romaine Empire had brethren, with whom they might not endure, but that many of them were ſlaine, or at the leaſt driuen out of the Empire: for in fine, there is none of ſo great temperaunce, that in caſe of commaundement,

would

would haue a companion: no not his brother.
Consider the behauiour of Remus and Romulus, Tiberius and Germanicus, Titus and Domitian, Marcus and Lucius, & others infinite that were brethren: amongest whome, vppon the point of commaundement and gouernement, there arose so great displeasures and vnkindnes: not as though they had beene natural brethren, but as most cruel enimies. O fathers conscript and friends, giue thanks vnto the Gods, that haue preserued your prince safe & soūd: for that without cause they would not haue giuen him his death, and conserued my life: for the workes of our gods are so profound, secreate, and vnknowne, that althoughe wee see what they doe: yet wee see not the end why they do it. Amongest all the gods, onely Iupiter is he that hath dominion, and so amongest al men the god Iupiter would not, but that onely one should possesse the Empire: for it were no lesse monstruous to gouerne the Empire by two persons, then one body to haue two heads. If for all the Heauens, one God be sufficient, and for all Bees but one king, and all members be gouerned with one heart, & all birds haue but one guide: I demaund of you my friends, to gouerne the common wealth of Rome, if one man be not sufficient? As we haue read in bookes of our forefathers, and as we haue seene in our dayes, there is nothing more conuenient vnto the Romane Empire, as to be gouerned by one only person: for that we haue seene more warres raised, vppon which prince should commaund, then for any disobedience of subiects. Howe fierce warres were raised betwixt Silla & Marius, Cæsar and Pompeie, Augustus and Marcus Antoninus, Galba and Othos, Othos and Bytellus, Bytellus

and

and Vaspasianus: & now of late betwixt Seuerus my father, and Iulianus and Albinius. All these great calamities, whiche the miserable common wealth of Rome hath suffered, was not for that many would not be commaunded: but for that many would commaund. Admitting that my father commaunded in his testament, that Geta my brother and I should diuide the Empire: yet many doe know, & they are not fewe which presume, that he would neuer haue done it, but his wife and my mother in lawe constrained him so to assigne: and in a case so great, hard & graue, respect ought not to be giuen to that whiche hee did, but vnto that which he would haue done: because the magnificence of the Empire, and the wisedome of the Senate, ought not to be bound, to the procurement of a vaine woman: but vnto that which is most conuenient for the common wealth.

CHAP. VII.

¶ Of the great crueltie of Bassianus, and of such as he commaunded to be slaine.

ALl the time that Bassianus **vsed this speach vnto ỹ Senate, no mã cut off his talk, or when he had finished, no person durst aunswere one word: but that he in ending his tale, beheld all his friends: & such as he suspected, he would not once loke vppon: wherof they remained not only despited, but also terrified:** because the thinge that the heart loueth, is seene and knowne by the vents and windowes of the eyes. **Neither for that** Bassianus **had said in open place, either for any aduisement of friends in secrete, did he cease to continue his cruelties: but that presently he commaunded to be slaine, not onely such as his brother** Geta **held for friends,**

friends, but also the friends of his friends. He slue all the
" seruaunts and officers of his brother, not only such as ser-
" ued him in the common wealth, but all such also, as serued
" him in all maner of vile things of his house: that is to say,
" cokes, butlers, caters, swæpers, moile kepers, turne spits,
" and boyes of the kitchen: at the death of whom, albeit both
" before and after he slue many: yet of none had they so great
" compassion in Rome as of those persons. Also he slue al his
" wagginers, all his horsekæpers, all his bakers, all his laũ-
" derers, all his musicians, al his taylers, finallie, he slue all
" that his brother loued: and all such as did serue him. Hée
" slue all the Senatours and officers of Rome, that folowed
" the partialitie of his brother Geta, and kilde all Questors,
" Pretors, and valiant capitaines, throughout the Empire.
" He slue Lucilla, an excellent matrone of Rome, sister vnto
" the Emperour Commodus, and daughter vnto the great
" Marcus Aurelius, whome all Emperours past did honour
" as an Empresse, and serued as a mother: and this was in
" such wise, that as any temple of Rome her house was pri-
" uileged. The cause wherefore they say, he slue the Lady
" Lucilla, was: for that, when she heard of the death of Geta,
" shee went vnto the Courte to comfort the mother, and be-
" wailed her sorrowe: whereof Bassianus being aduertised,
" said. Since Lucilla mourneth for the death of my brother
" Geta, with my mother in law: it signifieth that she would
" ioy of his life, and of my death: but I will liue, and she shal
" die. Also he slue many of the vestall virgins, some that he
" accused for breaking their virginitie: and others, for that
" they presumed to be virgins: saying it was a iest, to beleue
" that any might liue and die a virgine in this life.

" He slue an auncient knight named Letus, which was at
" the death of Commodus: and also was acquainted with
" the death of Geta his brother. He slue Rufus a knight of
" Africa, and his nére kinsman, that is to say, his vnckles
" sonne, who at the euening did inuite him to supper, and in
" the morning commaunded to be slaine. He slue Pompeya-

nus

nus the sonne of Lucilla, and nephue vnto Marcus Aurelius, a man of great courage in warres, and venturous in armes, whome he commaunded to be slaine trauelling vpon the way, and cast forth report that theeues had slaine him. Hee slue Papianus the learned Lawyer, who in those dayes was most famous in knowledge and counsell, that was in all the Romane Empire: and thus it passed, that Bassianus when hee came out of the Senate, did take Papianus on his right hand, and all alongest the streate layde his righte arme vppon his shoulder, vntill they came vnto the entrie of the house at the foote of the staire, where, with an axe, (such as they cleaue woode,) hee commaunded his head to be cut off.

Hee slue Petronius whiche had béene Consul, Senatour, Questour, Pretor, Edil, and Flamen fourtie yeares: in all whiche time, hee neuer offended any man, either any person had complained of him: wherefore hee was named the good Petronius. Hee slue Samonicus Serenus, whiche also was a Lawyer: and of this man it is said, that in eloquence hee was very sweete, and in writing no lesse Satyricall.

Also hee slue a sonne of the Emperour Pertinax, named Elius Pertinax, who for a wonder was said in Rome, that in either woord or déede, it was neuer perceiued in him, that euer in his whole life hee did so muche as vent for the Romane Empire: whiche was not a little to bee praised, and also meruailed: because sonnes naturally are not onely inclined to inherite their fathers goodes: but also to succeede them in their honours. Furthermore, hee commaunded a notable Romane to be slaine, named Chilus, because hee had continually traueiled to make him friende wyth his brother Geta: whoe presupposing that they came to kill him, stripte himselfe cleane oute of his apparell, and escaped oute at a certaine windowe of his house.

He killed his first wife, ỹ daughter of Plautianus, which was exiled into Sicyl, & caused search to be made in Rome

and through-

throughout the Empire, for al that were sonnes, cousines, vnckles, nephues, or nére parentes vnto the bloud royall, all which hée commaunded to be slaine, both men and women: because neither rote, branche, or memorie, should remaine of auncient or generous bloud. As well in Rome, as els where throughout the Empire, Bassianus cõmaunded many others to be slaine: but that which was more cruell, the executioners had authoritie to take away their miserable liues, but not to burie their bodies, leauing them to the foules of the ayre: as for the noblest, they were carried in carres on heapes, and consumed with fire euen to ashes. He was not onely euill and cruell, but also did boast himselfe to be a friend of such as were noted to be euil & cruell: for they neuer heard him say well of any prince past, but of Silla the cruell, Brute the traitour, Catiline the tyrant, the Gracchies seditious, Domitian the defamed, and Commodus the dissolute. Exactly to accomplishe his cruelties, it chaunced on a certaine day, representing the Circen playes in Rome (vnto which feast an huge nũber of people were come to behold) that as the guide of the imperiall chariot, might not passe, because the streats were stopt with multitudes of people, he began by force to make his way, and teare and treade the people: who made resistance for their safetie, adding thereunto wordes ouer furious, as people passioned. And as the Emperour then being placed in the same chariot, although they said no word to his offence, he receiued the cochemans iniurie as his owne; presently cõmaunding al his Pretorians which there did guard his person, to make slaughter at their libertie. And as al persons there present were more deckt and trimmed for the feast, then armed, either in readinesse for battel: so great cõpassion was it to behold the multitudes of people that died there, without any offence, and sheading of bloud of so many innocentes: for if tenne or twelue had offended, they were more then 15. thousãd that were there executed. The Romanes did neither eate, drincke, sléepe, or doe any thing, but with great trembling, not doubting when they should

be

be accuſed, but when Baſſianus ſhoulde commaunde them to be ſlaine: for neuer tyrant did execute that, which he ordinarily perfourmed in Rome: which is to wéte, without any accuſement of fiſcall, or complaint of enimie, or wante of ſeruice, to commaunde any man to be ſlaine.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the prouinces whiche Baſſianus did trauell, and the thinges which he did therein.

After that Baſſianus had ſlaine his brother Geta, and his enimies, as alſo manie of his friendes, and infinite others ý were neither friends nor foes: he departed from Rome, iourneying towardes Germanie, whiche nowe is named high Almaine: with determination to viſite thoſe Prouinces, and to refourme his armies, whiche by continuance of peace, were growne to greate negligence in matters of warre. A whole ſummer hee lodged neare vnto the riuer of Danubie, where he exerciſed hunting, fiſhing, playing, running, toyneying, and ſometimes ſate in iudgmente: and a matter wherein he made all men to wonder, was, that in hearing anie cauſe at the inſtant, he gaue ſentence wherein he neuer erred, and alſo iudgmente according to iuſtice. He had greate delectatiõ of that countrie, and the people of the ſame, makinge choyce of the valiaunteſt and gallanteſt perſonages of the youthe of Germanie, for the guarde of his perſon. The prouinces adioyning vnto Danubie being ſet in order, he paſſed into Thracia, and from thence into the lande of Macedonia: with determinatiõ to viſite the natiue countrie of Alexander the greate. All thinges wherein the actes of Alexander were grauen or painted, hee repaired, renewed, and made better: & manie other thinges he did both adde and inuente, in ſuch wiſe, that in al the kingdome of Macedonie there was neither citie or temple, where he did not erecte ſome edifice, or place ſome picture or counterfeite.

Baſsianus perfourmed manie notable things in Macedonia right worthy praiſe, and ſome other thinges no leſſe to be derided: becauſe in manie places he cauſed a bodie with two heads to be painted and alſo grauen, whereof one he intituled vnto him ſelfe, and the other vnto Alexander. The Macedonians did not a little ſcorne this acte, that *Baſsianus* woulde compare with the greate Alexander: for they eſtéemed their kinge in ſuche poſſeſſion and eſtate, that they ſay and affirme, neither anie in this life to be equall vnto him: either in the other worlde ſurmoũted of none of the Gods. *Baſsianus* grewe ſo proude, when he ſawe him ſelf ſo generally prayſed for his woorthy actes done in Macedonia, that he cõmaunded al his houſehoulde, not to call hym Baſsianus, but Alexander: and commaũded al the captains of his armie, to intitule thẽ ſelues wt the names of Alexanders auncient captaines: whereof the Romanes receiued no ſmall griefe, and al the auncient ſeruaunts of his father were not a little diſgraced: for it ſéemed vnto them, ỹ ſince he did not truſt them with the garde of his perſon, he woulde not loue them, either deale with them according vnto his accuſtomed manner. Hee woulde ofte put off all his Romaine apparrell, and claade him ſelfe after ỹ Flemmiſh faſhion: and further, the more aptly to reſemble them, he woulde weare counterfeite red haire: and howe muche the more he vſed theſe thinges, ſo muche the greater was the griefe vnto the Romaines. Alſo he obſerued a cuſtome, both in eating and drinking, in his apparrell and ſeruice, as in all other trauels which all wayes followe the warres, but as a common ſouldiour. It happened manie times, that if a trench were to be made, he firſte woulde digge, carrie forth earth, marche on foote, grinde breade corne for his owne diet, and bake it vnder the aſhes.

Hee delighted in baſe lodging, to reſemble the common ſoldiour, and woulde not drinke in golde or ſilner, but in woodden tankards: finally, he did not onely abhorre all thinges that ſéemed ſuperfluous: but alſo manie times,

that

that which was right neceſſarie.

Hee commaunded alſo, that none ſhoulde attende him, except he were commaunded, or call him Emperour, but companion: all whiche hee did to obtaine their loue, and to ſeeme admirable in his trauels. He commaunded his armie to be diuided into three partes, and the one to be called Macedonike, the other Laconike, and the thirde Spartanike, in memorie of three famous prouinces of Grecia, whiche followed the greate Alexander in all his wars, and the people which he eſtéemed moſt valiaunt and warlike.

From Macedonie hee toke his way vnto Pergamus, a famous citie in Aſia, to viewe ỹ temple of Eſculapius: the father and founder of phyſicke, in which temple he ſlept manie nights: and as he afterwardes ſaide, receiued there manie aunſwers of ỹ God Eſculapius, & many coũſels, as well for conſeruation of his health, as the gouernemente of his cõmõ wealth. From Pergamus, *Ba*ſsianus departed to the citie Ilion, that in times paſte had beene head of the kingdome of Troy, where greate warres were long continued betwixt the Greekes and the Troyans, whiche hee founde not onelie deſtroyed, but alſo plowed and ſowen. *Ba*ſsianus did there greately deſire to burie ſome perſone, after the faſhion as in times paſt they had buried Patroclus: and for accompliſhmeut of his deſire, he commaunded poyſon to be giuen vnto Feſtus his priuate and fauoured ſeruaunt: whome, after he was deade, he buried there according to the faſhion whiche the Troyans vſed with Patroclus: whiche fact of his ſome excuſe, affirming that Feſtus died without Baſſianus his commaundemente. Before ỹ *Ba*ſsianus entred high Almaine, he would viſite Gallia Tranſalpina, & after a fewe dayes of his entraunce therin, commaunded ỹ Proconſul of Narbona to be ſlaine: of which déede, as alſo of others which he executed he fel into ỹ hatred of ỹ cõmõ people, & deſerued ỹ name of a tyrant. In his nauigatiõ frõ Germanie into Aſia, he foũd him ſelf in ſo great danger, ỹ ỹ ſhip it ſelfe wherin he ſailed

did rent & sinke, & he escaped in a litle barke. He was strikē with so greate feare on sea, that after he had escaped that daunger, he woulde oftentimes say: I knowe not what man hauing breade to eate, and garments to weare and couer him selfe on lande, woulde (to become an Emperour) go to Sea.

CHAP. IX.

Of an horrible crueltie that Bassianus committed in Alexandria.

After that Bassianus had sēne the greate Ilion, and the moste parte of Asia and Bithynia, he came vnto the citie of Antioche, wher he was receiued wō great ceremonie: and all the time that he remained there, no lesse feasted. From Antioche he toke his way into Alexandrie, with greate desire to sē that famous citie, which the greate Alexander had builte: whereof the citizens beeing aduertised, they made moste solemne & costly preparation, wherewith to receiue him, which neuer had beene done to anie prince, either Greeke or Romaine: chiefly moued thereunto, because it was saide, that he was a friende vnto Alexander. Manie leagues before Bassianus came vnto the citie, they repaired the bridges, amended the high wayes, furnished all places with victuales, made manie summer houses with boughes, and scattered all the wayes with flowers: and further, all his traine did take all thinges at their owne pleasure, without payment of anie money. But when he arriued in the citie, generally the Alexandrines came forth to receiue him, in moste gorgeous apparell, accompanied with instruments and manie kindes of musick. Presently at his entrie into Alexandrie, he went on foote vnto the temples: where he offered verie greate sacrifices, and burned therein great quantities of incense, myrrhe, aloes, and suche other fumes.

This beeing done, hee went to visite the sepulchre of

the

the greate Alexander, where he vſed an imperiall magnificence, that is to wéete, he put off a moſt rich robe wherewith he was clad, he tooke from his cappe a brooch of greate price, a curious collar from his necke, from his breſte a ſtone of value ineſtimable, and from his fingers all his rings: & kneeling vpon ỹ ground did offer the ſame vpon the ſepulchre of the greate Alexander. Incredible was the ioy that the Alexandrines conceiued, to behold a liuing prince of Rome, to haue a Greeke prince which was deade in ſo greate veneration: in reſpect whereof, they loued him with all their hartes, and ſerued him with all their power.

All whiche thinges Baſsianus performed, not of intente to honour Alexander, or to pleaſure the Alexandrines: but with more certintie to aſſure him ſelfe of them all, and afterwardes ioyntlie to kill them all. Manie dayes had paſt, ſince Baſsianus had borne greate hatred vnto the Alexandrines and the occaſion of his vnkindneſſe was, becauſe it was ſaide, that they ſcorned him with wordes, and alſo derided him in enterludes: ſaying, it was a ſcoffing matter for him to make cõpariſon wt̃ Alexander, to name him ſelfe Achilles, and to imitate Hercules. Alſo Baſsianus vnderſtoode howe they had muche deſpiſed him, for ỹ death of his brother Geta, & laide their toungs vpon his owne mother, notinge her vnchaſtitie: which iniuries hee wanted not ſkill to diſſemble manie dayes, & after to reuenge the ſame at an inſtant.

The caſe was thus: the feaſts beeing finiſhed, he commanded proclamation to be made, that al the luſtie young men, either ſtraungers, or natiues of the countrie, ſhoulde muſter in a fielde, to the ende he would ſee, viewe, and alſo arme them after ỹ olde manner: ſaying, that frõ thence forth his will was, that al his men of warre ſhould fight, not after the order of the Romanes, but according to the faſhion of the Greekes.

Greate glorie, and alſo vaine glorie poſſeſſed the Alexandrines, when they hearde theſe proclamations: and

he that might sooneſt, came firſt into the fielde: conceiuing, that ſuch as were the woꝛdes of the crier, ſuch ſhould be the woꝛkes of the Emperour. All the youth of Alexandria remaining in the fielde, Baſsianus with all his armie in armour iſſued foꝛth to beholde them, and he commaunded to bꝛing them ſelues into a ſquare, to ꝯ end, that one by one, ſhoulde paſſe befoꝛe him, of whome he woulde take his choyce and pꝛeſently after giue them armour. Nowe when the miſerable Alexandrines ſtoode all as ſheepe together vnarmed, *Baſsianus* gaue a ſigne vnto his ſoldiours, to giue the charge as vpon enimies: who in their ſlaughter made ſo greate haſte, that within an houre, thoſe fieldes were all couered, not with flowers, but with dead bodies.

Greate was the hurte that Baſsianus committed that day vpon the Alexandrines: foꝛ that he lefte the widowes without ſonnes, graundfathers without nephues, vnckles without couſines, bꝛethꝛen without bꝛethꝛen, and neighbours without friends: in ſuch wiſe, that none remained that was not ſlaine, oꝛ elſe toꝛmented with the death of others. The place where Baſsianus committed this greate treaſon, and ſo inhumaine crueltie, was in a bꝛoade plaine fielde neare vnto the greate riuer Nilus: and the number was ſo greate of them which were ſlaine, that the bloude by ſtreames ranne thꝛough thoſe fieldes, and ſtayned and died that riuer Nilus: in ſuch extreme manner, that that ſo ſtately a riuer ſemed not to runne with water, but with bloude. The Alexandrines may not be excuſed of their faulte, in ſpeaking euill of Baſsianus, defameing his mother, & repꝛeſenting his vile factes in enterludes. Admitting that of euil we can ſpeake bnt euill, yet princes enter not into this reckoning, whoſe workes we haue licence to iudge onely in our hartes, but not with the toung to blaſpheme and deſpiſe them.

And albeit the offence of the Alexandrines was verie great, yea, though it had bẽne much greater, yet without compariſon, muche moꝛe vehement was the crueltie that

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Baſsianus did execute on them: which if he had bene, as he ought to haue bene, the contrarie he would haue perfourmed: for In the houſes of heroycall and excellent princes, chaſtiſement is giuen by ounces, and clemencie without meaſure.

CHAP. X.

Of a letter which Baſsianus did write vnto the kinge of Parthians to haue his daughter in marriage.

IT ſéemed vnto Baſsianus, that to robbe temples, to ſacke townes, to ſubuert walles, and to kill the whole neighbourhood of Alexandrie, was but a ſmal matter, in reſpect of his vile and cruell conditions wherwith he was inclined: and to this ende he determined to attempt ſo rare and odious a treaſon, ý all men which ſhould heare or reade therof, might counte his crueltie paſt but a trifle. Euen as amongſt ſuch as be vertuous, one vertue awaketh another vertue: ſo amongſt the wicked, one euill or miſchiefe draweth with it another miſchiefe: in ſuch wiſe, that there are ſome perſons ſo vowed vnto euill and miſchiefe, that without delaie fall into the profunditie of all manner of vice and miſchiefe. The caſe was thus, that *Baſsianus* ſéeing himſelfe in the Eaſte partes, had a deſire to make a conqueſt of the Parthians: and for that he durſte not make them warre openly, he remembred to deuiſe a treaſon for them in ſecreate. So much more vile was the facte, as ſmall was ý occaſion which moued him to commit the ſame: for at that preſent the Parthians with the Romanes, & the Romanes with the Parthians, were in greate friendſhip, and confederacie.

Without aduice of parentes, friends, or counſelers, Baſſianus ſente a greate Ambaſſage vnto Arthabanus king of Parthia, ſending alſo manie and rich iuels, and writinge with his owne hande a letter after this manner.

Baſsianus Antoninus, onely Em-
perour of the Romanes, to Arthabanus
the greate king of Parthians, health,
and good fortune.
(.'.)

The famous auncient Romanes, and many of the principall of my predeceſſours, came from the Weſt into Aſia, onely to make warre vppon this thy kingdome: but I come not to make thee warre, but to ſeek peace, and to this peace, both thou & I haue to ſearch a meane, that it may be perpetuall: for otherwiſe, a iuſt warre were more ſafe for princes, then a fayned peace. As wee read in bookes, and heare of our forefathers, there is not a more briefe and ſounde waye, for greate enimies to growe to bee faithfull friendes, then by recouering newe aliance by the waye of marriage: for in true and faithfull marriages, as the married be ioyned in bodies: ſo be they lincked and confederate in heartes and mindes. Although ſome Princes haue married with the daughters of Conſuls and Senatours, and admitting they haue ſo done, I will not ſo doe: for that I was borne a prince, and am a prince, and will dye a prince: wherefore, I will not marrie but with the daughter of a Prince. When congruently or aptly it may be done, it agreeth not with the maieſtie of the Empire, that the Prince this day ſhould holde him for his father in lawe, whome he helde yeſterday for his vaſſall. Although the wiues of Princes vſe not to commaunde and gouerne, yet we muſt graunt, that when

Princeſſes

Princeſſes be the daughters of high Princes, and deſ-ſcended of royall bloud, the people and ſubiectes are more honoured, ſatiſfied, and pleaſed: and ſuch bring foorth children more noble and generous. The Empire of the Romanes, and the Empire of the Parthians, are two the moſte renoumed Princes throughout the whole worlde: for, notwithſtanding the one at times hath ſubdued the other: yet neuer intirely had the one lordſhip of the other. I am prince of the Romanes, and thou art Prince of the Parthians: if thou wilt marrie thy daughter with mee, with greate good will I would matche with her: and after this manner, of two diuided Empires wee ſhall make one in concorde. Theſe two Empires beeing ioyned, may there be any kingdome that will diſobey them? or any king that ſhall dare to ſaye againſt them? I demaunde not thy daughter for her beautie, for there are others muche fairer in mine Empire: neither doe I requeſt her for thy richeſſe, for I haue ſufficient, neither doe I craue her, to recouer more vaſſals: for I haue kingdomes ynough ſubiecte vnto mee. But I do it, becauſe of auncient enimies, wee might frame our ſelues immortall friendes: in ſuch wiſe, that as hitherto we haue had you in contempt, as barbarians, from hencefoorth wee ſhall behaue our ſelues as brethren.

Thincke not that I write thus vnto thee, by thy fauour to be reuenged of mine enimies: or, for that my kingdomes haue rebelled againſt mee (as thou ſhalte vnderſtande by theſe mine Ambaſſadours) which my father lefte vnto mee ſo plaine, and their Princes ſo dedicated to obedience, that they doe not onely accompliſhe what I commaunde them, but

alſo requeſt mee to inioyne them more.

If in this which I write to thee, thou thinkeſt there be deceipte, thou oughteſt alſo to conceiue, that I ſhalbee moſt deceiued: partely, for that beeing (as I am) a Romane Prince, and partely, becauſe I am the perſon whiche ſueth: for that in this marriage thou aduentureſt not more then thy daughter: but I committe vnto Fortune, mine honour, goods, and perſon. Herein I will ſaye no more, but I praye thee to receiue theſe iewelles which I ſende thee in good parte: and to that which mine Ambaſſadours ſhall ſaye, giue credite.

The king of the Parthians, after he had read this letter, and hearde the Ambaſſadours what they had to ſaye in the behalfe of Baſsianus, did aunſwer him after this manner.

CHAP. XI.

¶ Of another ſolemne letter, wherein the king of the Parthians aunſwered Baſsianus.

Arthabanus, king of the auncient kingdome of the Parthians, to Antoninus Baſsianus, the onely Romane Emperour, health, & proſperitie,

Before

Before all thinges, I giue thankes vnto the immortall Gods, becauſe they haue put into thy heart, that which thou haſt written: and that which thou with thy Ambaſſadours haſt ſent to ſaye vnto vs. By that which I haue read in thy letters, and hearde of thy Ambaſſadours, I knowe that thou beleeueſt in the Gods, and haſt not taken counſell of men: for men alwayes giue counſell vnto Princes to make warre: but the Gods alwayes perſuade them to keepe peace. Thou ſayeſt that the Romane Princes, thy predeceſſours, alwayes paſſed into Aſia, with a minde determined to make warre with the Parthians: but ioyntly herewith, I would thou ſhouldeſt conſider, that as the warre which ye tooke in hand againſt vs was vniuſt, ſo fortune was vnto them, alwayes vnfortunate: for it is not the will of the Gods, that by an vniuſt warre, an entire victorie ſhould be obteined. Ye Romanes tooke the enterpriſe to be Lordes of the whole worlde: and to proſecute the ſame, ye rigged foorth many nauies and fleetes, ye ioyned greate armies, conquered ſtraunge prouinces, deſtroyed many kingdomes, killed much people, robbed infinite treaſures, and aduentured your ſelues into great and immeaſurable daungers: and in the ende, that which they had obteyned, they loſt, yea, the conquerours alſo loſt them ſelues: becauſe, whatſoeuer is gotten to the preiudice of another man, is loſt to the greate hurte & offence of him that obteined the ſame. That which thou promiſeſt in thy letter, and in thy name thy Ambaſſadours offer mee, I am not onely bound to accepte, but alſo deſerued greate diſpleaſure, if I durſt denie the ſame: beecauſe it is a thinge moſte iuſte, that the Goddes make warre vppon

that

ỳ prince, which refuseth the requeſt of men in peace. Thou ſayeſt that the chiefeſt meane to cõfirme peace is, for princes to practiſe marriage betwixt thẽſelues. I denie not, but that in ſome perſons it is moſte true, but it is no generall rule for all men: for we daily ſee betwixte moſte neare kinred and alies, moſte greate quarelles and ſcandals to ariſe. My greate graundfather was father in lawe vnto kinge Arſacidas, and afterwardes the one ſlewe the other in ỳ fielde: and ỳ verie ſame we heare reported to haue chaunced amongſt you: Pompey married with the daughter of Iulius, and afterwardes Iulius ouercame and deſtroyed Pompey his ſonne in lawe: in ſuche wiſe, that the marriages which they made to conſerue peace, did awake and inflame them to more cruell warre. The Prince that hath feare of the Goddes, and is naturallie giuen to peace, may not finde a better meane to obtaine the ſame, thẽ to be quiet in his owne realme: for, ſpeakinge the verie trueth, the prince that is ſatiſfied with his owne proper eſtate, needeth not to ſeeke affinitie in ſtraunge kingdomes. Vnto my father were offered greate, noble, and mightie mariages frõ ſtraunge kingdomes: whereunto he woulde neuer conſente, either hardely indure to heare thereof: and woulde ofte ſay vnto me, that manie kinges and kingdomes he had ſeene loſt by mariage in ſtraunge countries, and therefore woulde not marrie me, but within his owne kingdome: and ſaide, at the houre of his death, that if I woulde liue manie yeares in peace, I ſhoulde not abandon my children to ſtraunge marriages.

I had three ſonnes, whiche nowe bee all deade, and there remaineth vnto me but only one daughter,

in

in whome remaineth all my hope: and if the Gods would, and my deſtinies permitte, I woulde giue her an huſbande within mine owne naturall countrie, whome I might eſteeme as my ſonne, and he me as his father: for my intent, is, not to giue her an huſband that hath much goods, but in his perſon greate worthineſſe.

To that which thou ſayeſt of the kingdoms of Parthians, & the Empire of Romanes, would do verie wel to be ioyned in one: thou haſt great reaſon in that which ỹ ſayeſt, if it might be done with as great facilitie, as it is ſpoken: but how is it poſsible they may be made one, being (as they are) ſo ſtrange in nation? ſo diſtant in ſituation? ſo diſtinct in language? ſo diuers in lawes? and aboue all the reſte, ſo contrarie in conditions? Since betwixt you and vs, there are ſo manie landes, countries, nations, hills, and ſeas: howe is it poſsible, the bodies beeing ſo diſtante, that the harts may be vnited? Wee are much better knowne vnto the Godds, then wee knowe our ſelues: and ſince they haue created vs, and ſeparated vs, the one from the other: howe is it poſsible for vs to liue, and enioy together? for by greate diligence that men may vſe, either power that princes may practiſe, it is impoſsible for them to ſcatter that, whiche the Godds do gather together: or to ioyne that whiche they do ſeparate.

If thou wilte haue men for thy warres, I wil ſende them! If thou wilt haue money to inrich thy treaſure, I will furniſhe thee! If ỹ wilt enter peace with mee, I will! graunte it! If thou wilte that wee be brothers in armes, by othe I will confirme it! Finally, I excepte nothing betwixte thee and mee, but that thou

do

do not craue my daughter to wife: I am determined, & wil not, for giuing my daughter a good marriage, leaue my countrie tributarie vnto ſtraunge people. The precious iuells and greate riches which thou ſenteſt me, I haue receiued with greate good will, and I ſende thee others, although not ſuch, either ſo riche; neuertheleſſe thou mayeſt alwayes cõceiue by them, that the kinges of the Parthians, haue greate treaſures in their keeping, and no leſſe nobleneſſe of minde to ſpende them. No more, but the Goddes be thy defence, and that thou of me, and I of thee may ſee good fortune.

CHAP. XII.

Howe Baſsianus committed a greate treaſon againſt the Parthians.

This letter being receiued by *Baſsianus*, he made ſemblance of greate ſorrowe, that the kinge of Parthians would not giue him his daughter to wife: howbeit, he ceaſed not therefore eftſones to write, & ſende more preſents, to bringe to paſſe by importunities, that which of will he might not frame. Arthabanus conſidering the importunities of Baſsianus in writinge, and his largeſſe in ſending more riche iuells, not doubting ỹ anie guile might be concealed in that marriage, did yealde him ſelfe vnto the iudgmente of his friendes: who counſelled him, that hee ſhoulde not in anie wiſe, but accept the Emperour of Romaines for his ſonne in lawe: for it might be, that hee ſhoulde recouer him for an enimie, that would not accept him for a ſonne. The fame beeing ſpread throughout all

Aſia

Aſia, that the kinges daughter ſhoulde marrie with the Emperour of Rome, Baſsianus aduiſed to repaire and prepare with all ſpeede: ſo that in all cities of the Parthians where he paſſed, they did not only not reſiſte him, but with greate ioy did receiue and feaſt him: for they helde it for great vaine glorie, to ſée their princeſſe demaunded for wife by the great Emperour of Rome. In all places where Baſsianus paſſed, he offered riche ſacrifices in their temples, and gaue greate rewardes vnto ſuche as did attende and receiue him: all whiche he diſſembled, to eſcape ſuſpicion of the exceeding malice, whiche he determined to execute. Baſsianus beeing arriued at the greate citie Parthinia, where moſt times the greate kinge of Parthians was reſidente: Arthabanus iſſued foorth to receiue his ſonne Baſsianus, who moſt truly ranne foorth, as cõformable vnto peace, as Baſsianus readie and determined for the warres. There iſſued forth with kinge Arthabanus, not only the noble and valiaunt perſonages of his houſe and courte, but alſo all the men of power and wealth of his kingdome, which againſt that day were called and did attende: in ſuch wiſe, ỹ by his traine ỹ kinge diſcouered his valure, as alſo the nobleneſſe of his people. Nowe when the Parthians beganne to ioyne with the Romaines, and of both partes greate courteſies offered, Baſsianus gaue a ſigne vnto his armed knights, to giue a charge vpon the Parthians, vpon whome they executed as greate a ſlaughter, as Hanibal at Canaſſe, and Scipio at Carthage. The kinge Arthabanus as he came in the troupe of all his royaltie, tooke his ſeruaunts horſe, and gaue him ſelfe to flight: and then as it was night, & his horſe verie ſwift, he had leaſure to eſcape with his life: although not able to defende his countrie.

This beeing donne, he ſackt the royall palace, and al the citie, and after commaunded fire to be giuen to all partes thereof, whiche be perfourmed in all cities where he paſſed, all the time that he remained in Parthia: and freely gaue licence vnto his armie, to take what they might, & to kill whome they would. This was ỹ manner ỹ

Baſſianus

Bassianus vsed, to subdue the Parthians: whiche conquest with more reason may be termed ỹ inuention of a traytour, then the conquest of an Emperour: for the innocente Parthians were rather solde, then ouercome. At the presente when these thinges passed, Bassianus did write vnto the Senate: aduertising them that hee had subdued all prouinces and kingdomes of the Easte vnto the Romaine Empire: some by force, and others by good will: and that allthough the Romane princes, his predecessours, did exceede him in yeares and riches: yet not to be comparable vnto him in victories. The Senate beeing ignorante of the greate treason of Bassianus practised against the Parthians (because they receiued his letters, before anie other messenger had made reporte thereof) were verie ioyfull, and made greate feastes in Rome, placeing his counterfeit vpon all the gates of the citie: but after they vnderstoode the trueth of the treason committed, they were so muche grieued with that so vile a deede, that if the Parthians did suffer, the Romanes did bewayle.

CHAP. XIIII.

How Bassianus was slaine by the commaundemente of his priuate captaine Macrinus.

The Emperour Bassianus beeing departed from the territories of Parthia, came vnto the prouince of Mesopotamia, which was in the moneth of October: and beeinge full of woodes wherin were bred manie wilde beastes, he woulde remaine in the thickest thereof: for that he was more giuen to chase in mountaines, then to hawke in fieldes.

The captaines of Bassianus armie were two Romanes, named Audentius, and Macrinus. Audentius was a rustical person, as concerning maters of ỹ cõmon wealth: but verie expert & valiaunt in warrelike affaires. Macrinus con-

contrarywiſe, in gouerning the common wealth, was wiſe and skilfull: but in martiall affaires, somewhat negligent, and not ouer fortunate. Baſſianus did like very well of Audentius, and no leſſe euill of Macrinus, and did not only wiſhe, but alſo ſaid of him much euill: murmuring that hée was negligent, a coward, vitious, an epicure, a glutton that did eate much, and drincke not a litle: and that at his comming to Rome, he would remoue him from all charge in matters of warre. Macrinus was a man very wel learned, and in his ſpeach no leſſe reformed: and in all thinges that they ſaid vnto him, touching that which Baſſianus ſhould ſpeake of him, he aunſwered: that whatſoeuer his good lord had ſaid of him, was ſpoken of great affection, not to the end to defame him as an enimie, but to correcte him as a ſonne. Although Macrinus vſed this ſpeach openly, yet he had other matter in his hart ſecretly, as afterwards in the ſucceſſe of affaires it manifeſtly appeared: for, at ſuch time as *B*aſſianus would haue remoued Macrinus from his honour and eſtate, Macrinus diſpatched him of his life.

The caſe was thus, that Baſſianus being inclined of his owne proper nature, to knowe ſecretes, not onely of men, but alſo of Gods, and diuels, alwayes fearing himſelfe, that by practiſe of ſome treaſon, they would take away his life, hée was neuer void of the conuerſation of Sorcerers, ſothſayers, and inchanters, to aduertiſe him how long hee ſhould liue, and what death hee ſhould die. Not ſatiſfied with ſuch Magicians, ſothſayers, ſorcerers, and inchaunters, as did attend on his perſon in the warres, hee would ſend vnto the Prefect of Rome named Maternianus, to whome Baſſianus committed the credite of his ſecretes: writinge a letter vnto him with his owne proper hande, commaunding him, with great diligence and ſecretie, to aſſemble Magicians, Sorcerers, Sothſayers, Inchaunters, and Aſtrologians, to know of them, not onely how long he ſhould liue, and how he ſhould die: but alſo to demaund of them, if there were any perſon within the Empire, that

desired or procured to be Emperour, *Maternianus* performed all that, which his Lord Bassianus had written vnto him: whether it were any magician or sothsayer that said it, either any enimie of *Macrinus* finding opportunitie for his purpose: *Maternianus* did write and aduertise Bassianus, that he had assembled all the sorcerers, inchanters, diuiners, magicians, sothesayers, astrologians and augurs: and that the resolution of their counsell was, that if hee would enioy ꝑ Empire, it were conuenient that *Macrinus* were slaine. At the instant when the post returned wᵗ his letters from Rome, Bassianus was placed in his coche, to go forth on hunting: ꝑ not remēbring what he had written, either presuming what might be writtē, said vnto *Macrinus*, that he should open and read them all: and if that he found therin matter of great importance, to consult therin: and al other smal matters, that he himselfe should prouide aunswere, and dispatch. *Macrinus* reading these letters, as wel such as were written vnto *Bassianus*, as vnto himself, came also to read the letter of *Maternianus*, wherin he aduertised *Bassianus* of the aunswere which the magicians had giuen him, which is to say, that presently it were conuenient that *Macrinus* should be put to death: whereof he was not a litle abashed, holding it for great good hap, that this secrete had chaunced into his onely handes, before any other person: for, at the instant that *Bassianus* might haue read this letter, he would haue cōmaunded *Macrinus* his head to flee from his shoulders. *Macrinus* doubting, that *Maternianus* might returne to write of the former matter vnto *Bassianus*, and that, were it but for cōcealing that letter, hee would shorten him by the shoulders, aduised to practise the death of *Bassianus*, before he should experiment the same on him. Amongest them that garded the person of *Bassianus*, there was one *Martianus*, who accordingly had a brother also of his guard (him for a small displeasure *Bassianus* commaunded to be slaine) and with *Martianus* vsed words of great despite: in such maner, that *Martianus* wᵗ those words remayned disgraced, ꝑ of his brothers death

grœued

greeued and afflicted. After *Macrinus* vnderstode this passion to reigne in *Martianus* against *Bassianus*, hee first entered with him in familiaritie, and gaue him siluer and gold, receiued him into his friendship, and euery day lead him into remembrance of the vniust death of his brother: to the ende hee should not growe cold, but hote in hatred against *Bassianus*. Now when *Macrinus* felt, that by his benefits he had recouered *Martianus* for his faithful frīd, and brought him into great disdaine and mortall hatred of *Bassianus*, he grew to cōposition to depriue him of his life, for which dēde, his reward should be great: whereof *Martianus* did take great delighte, and bound himselfe to performe the same: partly to reuenge the death of his brother, as also to condescend vnto the request of his friend Macrinus. Bassianus being resident in Careuca a citie of Mesopotamia, came forth to visite a temple of the Goddesse Luna, two miles distant from the citie: and being constrayned vppon the way, to vnburden his bellie, hee entered the thickest of the couert, accompanied but with one seruaunt: and Martianus that attended but opportunitie to accōplish his promise, entered vppon Bassianus being withdrawen into the thickest of the shrubs, prosecuting his necessitie alone, Martianus strake him with a launce downe flat vppon the ground: which wound was so mortall, that without more woordes, or strength to moue, where the launce went in, the life came out. After that Martianus had slaine Bassianus, he toke his horse and fled: but as the imperiall guard was at hand, within a leage he was ouertaken, and slaine with launces: in such wise, that after hee had taken reuengmēt of his enimie, he enioyed his life but one hour. This was the end of the vnhappie Emperour *Bassianus*, whose life did merite a slaunderous death: for that it was not vnreasonable, that he which had kild so many friends, by treason should be slaine with enimies.

CHAP. XIIII.

¶ How Macrinus excusing himselfe of the death of Bassianus, did aduaunce himselfe with the Empire.

ON the selfe same day that Antoninus Bassianus was borne, which was the eight of April, he was slaine, xliij. yeares of his age being accomplished, and vj. yeares of his Empire and reigne expired. The first man that came vnto him after he was slaine, was Macrinus, who bewailed his death with so great dissimulation, as if he had not bene the mã that procured so vile a deede. Macrinus was right fortunate that Martianus was slaine when hee was taken: for all men thought and also said, that Martianus had slaine his Lord Bassianus, not by inducemente of any person, but to reuenge his brothers death. Many others were of this conspiracie besids Macrinus, that ordeyned it, and Martianus that sought ẏ same: ẏ is to say Nemesianus & his brother Apolinarius, Renonuus & Agrippa, al which had sworn his death: some for iniuries which they had receiued, & others for seruice vnrecompenced. Presently vpon Bassianus his death, Macrinus commaunded his body to be burnt, and his ashes to be placed in a coffin of gold: & so with great gard, and no lesse accompanied, hee sente the same vnto Iulia his mother in law, being then at Antioch: who at the instante when she vnderstoode *Bassianus* to be dead, dranke a litle poison, wherewith she finished her life. The case stãding in this estate, newes arriued at the Romaine campe, that Arthabanus king of Parthians pursued Antoninus Bassianus, to execute vengeance for the iniurie which he had receiued: and to the same end, the king & his knightes, before they came to the field, made a vowe vnto their Gods, neuer more to returne with life, before they had slaine the Emperour *Bassianus*. The Romanes beheld themselues in great confusion, on the one parte, finding themselues in so straunge a Countrie with-

out

out hope of ſuccour, and alſo for the death of their prince and their enimie ſo nære at hand: to repaire and remedie which miſchiefe, with great diligence they elected a prince named Audentius, a man of honeſt life, and of great experience in the warres: which he refuſed, alledging for himſelfe, age and ſickeneſſe: and that of his election hee might not gather but trauel & offence vnto the common wealth. Two dayes was the armie without an Emperour, and in the end vppon Audentius his refuſall, they elected Macrinus for Emperour, which election did rather proceed of neceſſitie, then of will: becauſe their Parthian enimies were very nære, & the worthie perſons of the Empire very farre. Aboue wee made mention of Iulia, the mother in law vnto Baſſianus: this Ladie being a widowe, and reſident in the Court, in the ſummer time Baſſianus beheld her at a feaſt, as ſhe was, halfe naked, and inflamed with her loue ſaid vnto her theſe words. If it were poſſible to renounce this name mother, which I owe thee: from henceforth I would call thee wife. Iulia anſwered: If thou wilt, thou mayeſt, becauſe princes haue authoritie to make lawes, but are not bound to obſerue them. And as in Baſſianus loue did abound, ſo finding in Iulia a readie minde, preſently he married with her: in ſuch wiſe, that vnto patricide he added inceſt: that is to ſay, that hauing ſlaine his brother Geta, alſo he married his fathers wife.

Baſſianus naturally was euil inclined: and if his father were cruell, he was moſt cruell: in eating diſordinate, in drincking vntemperate: for many times in his exceſſe of drinke, he would talke at large. From his infancie he was hated of all perſons, no leſſe of his owne, then of ſtrangers, the Pretorian knights onely excepted: which was not for the benefites, that of him they had receiued: but for the libertie which he gaue them to robb and ſteale. Some notable buildinges hee erected in Rome, eſpecially certaine ſtately bathes, which hee named after his owne name, in coſt and curiouſnes exceeding all workes and buildinges in Rome. He made alſo a gate in Rome, & called it Scueriana,

in the reuerence of the name of his father Seuerus: wherin he caused to be grauen al the victories and triumphes that his father had obteined, either after or before he was Emperour. Hee was the first that brought vnto Rome the image of the Goddesse Isis: vnto whome he edified a sumptuous temple, and therein did constitute priestes. He left no child either legitimate or not legitimate, but Heliogabalus, whom he had by a neece of his mother Iulia, of whom we will speake in the historie following.

The life of the Emperour Heliogabalus, compiled by sir Anthonie of Gueuara, Bishop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler, and counseller vnto the Emperour Charles the fifte.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the linage and nouriture of the Emperour Heliogabalus.

THE second wife of Seuerus was named Iulia, which was mother vnto Geta, and mother in lawe vnto Bassianus: this Iulia, when she was married vnto Seuerus, brought vnto Court with her an elder sister, named Mesia, a woman of proporti-on sufficient faire and comely, but of condition very wilie. This Mesia had with her two daughters, whereof the elder was named Semiamira, and the yonger Manea: both borne in the Emperour Seuerus his Courte, and bred and nourished a long time after in the house of the Emperour Bassianus. The writers of those times do not name, who was the husband of Mesia, and the father of Semiamira, &

of

of Manea: and therefore doubted to be conceiued in adulterie, or that the father was of linage obscure.

Mesia remayning in the Court of Seuerus with her two daughters, being young & very faire, Bassianus the sonne of Seuerus had accesse vnto Semiamira, and begate of her a sonne named Antoninus Caracalla: and for the loue of Iulia his aunt, and also to the end the damosell should not bee despised in the sight of Seuerus, the graundmother vsed so great skill in this busines, that no person of the Courte might perceiue the daughter to be with child, or brought a bed: or whether ỹ child was put forth to be noursed. The auncient linage of this womã Mesia, was of Phœnicia, & borne she was in a citie called Mesania, nere vnto whiche place (in times past) a battell had bene fought, betwene ỹ Rhodians and the Phœnicians. Antoninus Caracalla on the fathers side, was sonne vnto the Emperour Bassianus, and on the mothers side sonne of Semiamira: and conceiued in adulterie. Whẽ ỹ child was fiue yeares of age, he was brought vnto the Courte, and there bred & nourished with the mother and graundmother: but all the dayes that Bassianus liued, they neuer durst say that it was his sonne: because Iulia his aunt and mother in lawe to Bassianus, had married with the selfe same Bassianus: and if she had knowen the child to be such, she would haue slaine it, banished her Neece, & sent away her sister. This woman Mesia was so wise, & prouident, that in the reigne of Seuerus, at Court all men did serue her, & after in the dayes of Bassianus shee commaunded and gouerned all thinges at her owne pleasure: and this was in such extreeme wise, ỹ with her he did take counsel for the affaires of the cõmon wealth, and shee did alwayes accompanie him, whither soeuer he went out of Rome, although it were vnto the warres. This Mesia was frank of speach, & of no great reformation of life, howbeit very skilful in al things which she aduentured to take in hand: for, notwithstanding al men had of her great suspiciõ, yet they were fewe ỹ atteyned vnto her secrete drifts. Although on the one part, she was accused to be lewd & loose

of life, yet on the other shée was praised, because shée was very wise in all thinges wherein she gaue counsell: which most clearely appeared, for that in the 16. yeares in which she remained in the Courte and manours of those princes (who by her iudgement and opinion were gouerned) shée was neuer séene to twite or reproue any person with her tongue: or giue counsel in any thing that offended the common wealth. Being (as she was) sister vnto Iulia the Empresse, and so accepted with those princes, this Mesia was marueilous riche: and the cause thereof was, that all good thinges which were vacant in the Empire she craued, and whatsoeuer was giuen her shee receiued. The second daughter of this Mesia, named Manea, maried with a Cõsul named Verius, and brought him forth a sonne, then named Alexius, but afterwards Alexander the Emperour: in such wise, that this Mesia had one sister, an Empresse: & sawe her two nephues Emperours. Mesia doubting that some day it might come to the notice of Iulia her sister, that Antoninus Caracalla was the sonne of her husband Bassianus, aduised to send both her nephues vnto her owne proper countrie of Phœnicia, there to hold them more safe, and better taught. In the prouince of Phœnicia was a most sumptuous temple, dedicated vnto the God Heliogabalus, the workemanship whereof was wrought all of sawen stone, as if it had bëene timber, in the ioyning whereof their appeared no seame, but all mẽ iudged (that knew not that secrete) that the whole temple had bëene made of one stone. There was not in that temple, as was in other tẽples, which is to wit, any image or simulachre of any God: but that which it conteyned, was a blacke shining stone, great & large beneath, and vpwards more narrow, wherein was grauen the Sunne and the Mone, right curiously & subtily; which in viewe and beholding did dazill the eyes of men. The people of Phœnicia did report, that the temple was made by mans hand, but the stone was sent by the Gods from heauen: for which cause they offered vpon the same, siluer, gold, iewels, and other great riches: and it

was

was visited, not onely by the natiues of Phœnicia, but also from many partes of Asia.

In that temple, there were not onely priestes, but also Philosophers: to the ende that some should sacrifice, and others teache and reforme maners: because that temple was indued with so great riches, that there was sufficient both for the one & the other. Heliogabalus being of ỹ age of xiiii. yeres, and his cousin Alexius of the age of twelue yeares, their graundmother Mesia placed them in that temple, to enure them to offer sacrifices, & to learne Philosophie. These two brethren went apparailed after the manner of two Priestes, which is to wete, in shirtes of Linsey wolsey, their garments of gold and cotton, their sleeues buttoned with Corrall, their robes trailing, their heades couered with silke calles, about their neckes collars of golde, their feete bare vppon the instep, leaden ringes vppon their little fingers, and ringes of golde vpon their thumbes: but aboue al the rest, they might not eate but in their houses: either slepe but in their temples. And because Antoninus was Priest, and brought vp in the temple of the God Heliogabalus, that is to saye, a Priest of the Sunne, he was afterwardes named Antoninus Heliogabalus: and also many dayes after that he was exalted vnto the height of the Empire, he kepte the garments, and receiued the stipend of his auncient priesthood. Heliogabalus was of meane stature, redde haired, white faced, small mouthed, shorte legged, and largely bearded: and as at that time he was young and faire, and his sacerdotall vestmentes did so adourne him: although the secrete of his parentage was vnknowen, yet all men presupposed that he was of noble bloud.

CHAP. II.

¶ Howe capteine Macrinus did exalt him selfe with the Empire, after the death of Bassianus.

After that Martianus had slaine Bassianus his Lorde, through the counsell of Macrinus, presently he exalted him selfe, or (to saye better) did tyrannize the Empire: neuertheless, the armies elected him, and the Romanes allowed him: not because they were pleased with Macrinus, but for ioy to see them selues free and deliuered of Bassianus.

So generall was the ioye amongest the Romane people, to see Bassianus dead, that they cared not to consider of Macrinus that should succéede, whether he were good or bad: because, heartes that be tormented, and men that be despighted, when they hap to oppresse their enimies, consider not so much of their profite, as they respect their reuengement. Tenne dayes after Macrinus sawe him selfe Emperour, Arthabanus king of the Parthians gaue him battell, to reuenge the iniurie which Bassianus had done vnto him: this battell betwirt both partes was so contended and so bloudie, that the victorie on that daye remained on neither side: yet least was the losse vnto the Romanes. Arthabanus being aduertised of the death of his enimie Bassianus, and his choler also somewhat alaide, made peace with the Romanes, and with his armies retired into his countrie. After Macrinus beheld him selfe elected, and confirmed Emperour, and king Arthabanus returned vnto his kingdome, and that in all Asia, not so much as a lance in the rest against him, he departed to the citie of Antioche: not of any intent to reformme his armie, but of purpose totally to vowe him selfe vnto vice and filthinesse.

The case was thus, that being setled in Antioche, he gaue héede vnto no other matter, but to the vse of the Bathe, trimming his head, annoynting his beard, going on hunting, prosecuting gluttonie and excesse, giuing him selfe vnto women: and that which was worst, he fledde from affaires, and followed vices.

When at any time Macrinus did issue forth, to viewe his

his men of warre, he walked not with a lance, but with a Caane in his hande, which they helde for no small iniurie: for that amongest them it was a lawe, that none might passe through their bandes except he were armed, with some armour.

It was a lawe muche vsed and obserued amongest the Romanes, that their Princes did neuer enter armed into the Senate, either vnarmed did viewe their Campes and armies: since in the one they did manage matters of peace, and in the other nothing but warres. Macrinus heard by reporte, that the good *Marcus* Aurelius spake sildome, and with lowe voice: and so he vsed for resemblance to aunswere suters, with fewe woordes, and verie base: in such wise, that in his speache he did imitate *Marcus* Aurelius, and in his life did resemble Nero.

With none of the Antiochians, either with any person of all Asia, did he consent to haue conference, or to be serued at his table, either enter into his chamber, or sleepe in his house: but after the manner of a tyraunt, with his owne he stoode vppon his guarde, and with straungers not a little suspicious.

Auncient persons, his olde horsemen, and the Capteines of his armies, he woulde not commaund to stande vp, although they had long continued vppon their knees: either to put on their cappes, when they stoode bareheaded: wherein, the Romane Princes alwayes vsed greate measure and consideration: for that curtesie costeth little, and profiteth much.

The money which *Macrinus* receiued of his rents, or were presented him from the cities, he consumed them all in vices: and on the other parte, he woulde neither paye what he owed, or succour his men of warre: in suche wise, that the people stoode in despaire, and the armies (for want of paye) no lesse despighted.

The Romanes were afflicted with no small griefe, to beholde the tyraunt *Macrinus* in all his deedes and attempts, and to see howe the Asians despised him: for they franckly

frankely saide, that he did not inherite, but they did electe him Emperour: and their fact to be imputed with greater indignitie, that had chosen a person of so great vnworthinesse. In his apparell, in his diet, and in all his manners and fashions, Macrinus would nedes imitate, not the Romanes, but the Asians: which the Romanes received with great griefe, and the Asians with no lesse ignominie: for that so euil a person would nedes resemble thē. For so muche as there were no warres in Asia, or in all the East, either by Sea or lande, the Romane armies would haue returned to Rome, but Macrinus would not consent: doubting (as they were discontented) that they should ioyne with the Senate, and determine to depose him from the Empire. Macrinus was muche blamed, for that he stayed to go to Rome: and much more, for want of pay vnto his men of warre: for that many times, more hurt redoundeth to Princes by holding their armies discontented, then to encounter their armed enimies. In very short space Macrinus had recouered mortall hatred of his armies: of the one parte, to be so absolute a tyraunt, and on the other parte, to be in vice so dissolute, and also so much puffed vp with pride: for that he seemed to extoll him selfe by commaunding, and loathed and despighted with suites of his subiectes. Macrinus was a man of a lowe stature, quarellous, ambitious, and also couetous: but ioyntly herewith, he was valiant in the field, and yet woulde seeke great meanes to liue in peace: & notwithstāding all these conditions, both good and euil, they woulde neuer haue taken away his life and Empire, if he had not beene nummed with the vices of Asia.

CHAP. III.

¶ Howe the great matrone Mesia bought the Empire for her nephue Heliogabalus.

In

In the time that Macrinus was resident in Antioche, the Romane hosts, were in defence of the prouince of Phœnicia: because in that yere, that coũtrie did abound in grain for bread, and the people also were not fatigats or spent with warres. Wée haue said, how in that countrie, there was a temple dedicated vnto the God Heliogabalus: which in buildings was verie magnificent, and of priests much populated. Many Romane captaines, went many times to visite that temple: some to sée, some to pray, and some to offer sacrifices: for that, naturally, the Romanes presumed to be great worshipers of their gods, and to hold their tẽples in singular reuerẽce. Ther was in those daies, in those temples, two young priestes first cousins: one of whiche was named Heliogabalus, and the other Alexius: these yong men, in their vestments which they did weare, and in their life which they did leade, were iudged to bée priestes: one the other part, they well séemed by their grauitie, to bée the sonnes of princes. The matrone Mesia was so discreet, secret, and aduised, that the children being of the age of fifténe yeres, neither them selues, or any other for them, did either knowe, or suspect, who were their fathers, either who their grandmother: but that shée sayd vnto all men, that those children were orphans, and sonnes vnto her auncient seruaunts. When Macrinus did tyrannize ỹ empire, amongst other errors which hee committed, hée banished the famous matrone Mesia from the courte: not for that hee did so much as suspect her of any euill, but béeing therunto vrged by his vile inclination: for that all princes, his predecessors, estéemed her as a mother, and honored her as a ladie of great souereigntie. In the courte of eight emperours, by the space of 53. yeres, the great matrone Mesia had béene resident, with all which shée vttered of her selfe so great valure, and yealded such estimation of her person, and also of them recouered so great gaine, that when Macrinus did reiect her from the court, she had more riches in her exile, thẽ Macrinus might finde in the whole empire.

The

The matrone Mesia departed vnto Phœnicia, where her two nephues remained, namely Heliogabalus, and Alexius: and as there remained manie Romane gentlemen euill payed and worse pleased, so they ioyned with Mesia, and Mesia with them, to talke and murmur howe Macrinus had slaine, by treason, his lorde the Emperour Bassianus, and made hauock of the Empire & common wealth: whiche matter was moued amongst persons that had desired to remoue this mischief, and on the tyrante also to take vengeance. The matrone *Mesia* receiued exceeding ioy, to heare with her owne eares, and see with her eyes, howe all the armie was bente against the tyrant *Macrinus*: and their greatest care was, to finde a man sufficient, and of merite meete for the Empire: because the Romanes stode with him in great and cruel hatred, for want of pay, and the matrone *Mesia* no lesse grieued with her exile. The matrone *Mesia* beholding her selfe in so good & apt assembly, to make her nephue Heliogabalus Romane Emperour, called in great secrecie, sire Romane captaines of the chiefest of the armie: all which were of great authoritie, and no lesse grauitie. Vnto these sire captaines *Mesia* sayd in secrete, howe her nephue Heliogabalus was sonne vnto the Emperour Bassianus, and Semiamira her daughter: and that shée had helde him hidden in Asia, for doubt of ỹ Empresse Iulia: who (had she knowne it) would haue slaine the childe, and banished the mother. *Mesia* was not only satisfied to say & certifie these vi. captaines, that the Emperour *Bassianus* most truely was father vnto that younge man, and nephue vnto her selfe: but ioyntly therewith, she brought them into her chamber, and discouered vnto them an huge masse of golde & siluer, whiche she promised, and sware vpon the altars of the temple, to distribute totally vpon the armie, if they woulde giue the Romaine Empire vnto her nephue.

Vnto these sire captaines (to whome the matrone *Mesia* had committed this secreate, and discouered this treasure) shee both promised and sware, to bringe to passe

with

with her nephue Heliogabalus, that he shoulde giue them the moste honourable offices in all the Empire, if in case they shoulde vse the meane to make him Emperour: in so muche that, if other men were payed and recompenced, they shoulde remaine both remunerated and honoured. Greate wisdome was vsed by the matrone *Mesia*, in this matter of so greate importance, especially in the choyce of so honourable captaines: whose credite was sufficient to frame the whole armie to perfourme the same. Of this example, princes and greate potentates may collecte, that in anie affaires, there is not greater daunger, either more safetie, then soundly to consider, in to whose hands they commende their causes.

The Pretorian bands being euill intreated, and worse payde, greate was their ioy, when they hearde that Heliogabalus was ỹ sonne of Bassianus, for whom the grandmother craued the Empire: whome they all accepted, and bound them selues to receiue for their Emperour: not only to be reuenged of ỹ tyrant *Macrin*, but also to possesse the money. For so much as the temple where he was Priest, was without the citie, agrëment was made betweene the matrone Mesia, and the armie, that presently the same night (notwithstanding it were verie late) both her nephue and also her owne person, by strẽgth and deuise should be conueyed ouer the wall into the citie, that at the breake of day, they shoulde seaze the citie, and aduaunce Heliogabalus vnto the Empire. Neither was the matrone *Mesia* slack to acomplish their request, either was there anie wante in the promise made by the Pretorians: but that Mesia and her nephue approching to the foote of the wall, wt purposed engins mounted them ouer into the citie: the young man being placed amids the Romaine captaines, beleeuinge him to be the sonne of Bassianus, by resemblance of his face, and by a marke in his hande, as Bassianus had.

The Romane armies receiued greate ioy, to beholde Mesia and her nephue Heliogabalus: chiefly, to see the

yõnge

" young man so comely, faire, and towarde: and in behol-
" ding they would all say, that since he had so good a face, ne-
" cessarily it followed, that his déedes shoulde be vertuous:
" but his inclination beeing discouered, there was no vice
" wherein he was not noted: either any vertue wherefore
" to be praised. The great matrone Mesia (as a woman
" that dealt in affaires both daungerous and escandalous)
" would first assure the Empire vnto her nephue, before shée
" departed from her treasure: and the case was thus. Shée
" framed all the principals of the armie, presently to sweare
" vnto Heliogabalus, as their onely Emperour, & to kisse
" his hande as their naturall Lorde. A matter most truely
" verie marueilous, and no lesse worthie to be commended
" vnto memorie, namely, the dispatche and diligence vsed by
" Mesia in one night: moste manifestly apparant, that with-
" in fiue houres, shée brought forth her nephue from the tem-
" ple, passed him ouer the wall, did yeald him credite to be
" the sonne of *Bassianus*, obteined their othes as vnto their
" Emperour, kissed his hand as loyall subiectes, diuided her
" treasure amongst the armies, fortified themselues in the
" fortes of the citie, and brought the whole hoste into ar-
" mour. At the breake of daye, in euery towre they did
" sound their trumpets, placed their Standards and Pen-
" dons, bothe on bulwarkes and corteines, and with loude
" voices exclaimed through all streates: Viua, viua el Em-
" perador Heliogabalo, hiio del buen Bassiano: that is to
" saye: happie and long life vnto the emperoure Helioga-
" balus, sonne to the good *Bassianus*. This béeing done & pro-
" claymed, Heliogabalus came forth into the citie, neither
" on foote or on horse backe, but vppon the shoulders of the
" moste auncient and honourable of the armie, wearing the
" imperiall crowne vppon his head, and holding the royall
" scepter in his hande, and hauing vppon his shoulders, the
" ensigne of Augusta, & before him the pendon of the Eagle:
" because these were the ensignes whereby the emperours
" of Rome were knowen. And now, after ỹ standards were
" placed, and the strength of the citie possessed, the armie
publiquely

publiquely proclaimed, and receiued the Emperour Heliogabalus for their lorde and Emperour: presently, the renowmed matrone Mesia did yelde vnto them all her treasure, both siluer and golde, without breache of any promise, or reseruing of any one Jewell. The Romanes were so contented with the matrone Mesia, that there they did both sweare and bowe, to estéeme her as a mother, to hold Heliogabalus for their Lorde, and to persecute the tyrant *Macrinus*, euen to death.

CHAP. IIII.

¶Howe *Macrinus* did write a letter vnto the renowmed *Mesia*, after he vnderstoode his depriuation of the Empire.

THE tyrant *Macrinus* was settled with greate securitie, in the citie of Antioche, when they remoued him from the Empire in Phœnicia: for so it hath béene, is, and shalbe, that when Princes moste greedily doe prosecute vices, then their enimies are weauing some webb of most deadly daunger. Heliogabalus was not the full age of seuentéene yeres when he was aduaunced to the Empire: when *Macrinus* in Antioche heard the newes of ỳ whiche was don in Phœnicia, he fell into a great laughter, & made a iest of it: chiefely, being certified to be so very a childe, & framed by his grandmother *Mesia*, whome he helde bothe for a woman ambitious, and also contentious. Those persons that remained with *Macrinus* (after they hearde of a newe Emperour, & that ỳ Romane hosts had don him homage and fealtie) aduised & also prayed him, that he would not estéeme the matter ouer light, but with better and riper counsell, should thinke and consider for the remedie thereof: for it might come to passe, by conceiuing it to be but a iest, that the other might remaine Emperour in earnest.

As Macrinus naturally was both ambitious, orgulous, and disdaineful: so he demaunding yuke and paper, presently did write a cholerike letter with his own hands, vnto the famous matrone Mesia after this maner.

Macrinus Ancius, onely Emperour and vniuersall Lord, to the matrone Mesia her person, small health, and lesse grace with the Gods.

Here I am aduertised, that in the offence of the Gods, & vnto my great want of reuerence, thou hast attempted with mine armies, to establish a newe Emperour: which deede exactly declareth thee to be (as in deede thou art) a woman both seditious, and also ambitious: since thou knowest that by meanes of thy toung and mutinie in the common wealth, I did banishe thee my house. Also they saye, that the emperour which thou hast made, is a boye, a priest, a bastard, and thy nephue: whereunto there is no more to be aunswered, but that I shal chastice thee as a woman, and him as a childe: that is to saye, commaund him to be whipt, & thy selfe to spinne. I sweare vnto thee Mesia (by the immortall Gods) that if thou driue mee to take my lance in hand, I will force thee to put thy distaffe vnder thy girdle: for vnto women (such as thou) it were more honestie to be spinning, then to practice mutinies amongst souldiours. Also it is saide vnto me, that thou hast giuen infinite treasures vnto mine armies, to moue them to reuolt from mee, and to elect thy nephue Emperour: these with the rest, be the fruites of thy guyle: for that only

ly of thee, and neuer of any other, it is saide, or shall be saide, that thou hast robbed the Empire, to buy the Empire.

If all princes past had knowen thee as I do knowe thee, neither would they haue giuen credite vnto thy woordes, or faith vnto thy fained workes: but as by thy guileful diligence in their seruice, and presuming attempts in their affaires, thou didst commaund their housholdes, and gathered the fruites of their goodes. I haue heard thee many times boast thy selfe, that thou wast borne in the house of Marcus Aurelius, nourished with Antoninus Pius, and didst dwell in house with Commodus, Pertinax, Iulianus, and Seuerus, Princes very glorious: which if thou hadst remembred, thou wouldest neuer haue committed a deede so vile: for there may not be in the whole worlde a deede more vnseeming, then for him that was bred in the palace of kings, to committ treason against a person of such maiestie. If it shall hap the Gods to permitt, and my sorrowfull destinies so to direct, that in this enterprise I lose both honour and life, I can saye vnto thee Mesia, that which historiographers, who shall write of thee and mee, with trueth may saye, that the Empire came vnto mee by election, but to thine through treason. If thou hadst beene a woman of honestie or honour, thou wouldst not so openly haue defamed thy daughter Semiamira, whome thou chargest to haue accompanied Bassianus, and of her bodie this boye Heliogabalus to haue sproung, for whome nowe thou procurest the Empire: becawse in the houses of blushing faces, generous and noble heartes, they more esteeme an ounce of honour, then all the wealth and estate of this life.

Oh Mesia, howe greate an errour hast thou made in this thine enterprise, onely to reuenge thy rauenous heart, and to make thy nephue an Emperour? namely, thou hast raised a slaunder vppon Bassianus, defamed the royal palace of incest, dishonoured thine vnchast daughter Semiamira, blemished the Empresse Iulia of vnhoneste consent, & not stained but imbrued thine owne fame, with the filthie couerture of incestuous adulterie. And since Bassianus, Iulia, Semiamira, and Seuerus haue ended their dayes: wherefore wilt thou (oh traytresse Mesia) dishonour so many that be dead, to honour but one that is aliue?

Nowe I knowe (oh Mesia) howe tedious and perilous it is, for quiet men to deale with mutinous women, and passioned as thou art: who hauing no yron to hurte our flesshe, yet committest deedes to defame vs, and speakest woordes to torment vs. Of this treason which thou hast committed against me, I doubt not to be reuenged, and my heart throughly satisfied: for so greate an offence is treason, that if it be in men to offende therein, the Gods haue onely charge to reuenge ỹ same. It is giuẽ me also to vnderstand, that this thy nephue was a priest in the temple of the God Heliogabalus: in which matter I do not entermedle and say little, since in this iniurie ye haue not committed offence vnto men, but vnto the gods: but ioyntly therewith I dare saye vnto thee, that since thou hast drawen him foorth of the temple, where he was consecrated vnto the Gods, thou shalt neuer enioy good dayes of him: for that of thy parte, to haue done seruice vnto the Goddes, of Princes thou shouldest haue made priestes, and not of priests Princes.

The Gods demaund nothing which we haue, but if by chaunce wee offer any thing vnto them, they like it not, that wee ſhould returne to take it awaye: for which cauſe I ſay vnto thee, and from hencefoorth, do prophecie (O Meſia) that for ſo muche as thou haſt drawne foorth thy nephue from the holy temple, he ſhall loſe the Empire, and thou thy money. The confidence which thou committedſt vnto the men of warre, by diuiding amongeſt them ſo greate quantitie of golde and ſiluer, I hope in the immortall Gods, ſhall all conclude in ſmoke: for it is an auncient cuſtome among the Romane hoſtes, not to giue the Empire to the perſon of moſte merite, but vnto him that payeth beſt. The matter that moſte grieueth mee (O Meſia) in this traiterous enterpriſe, is, to thinke, that I being a man, and a Romane prince, muſt deale, fight, and contende with a woman: becauſe there may not bee in this whole worlde an equall deſpight, then for a man to arme him ſelfe againſt a woman, whoſe weapons are but woordes. But the concluſion ſhalbe, ſince thou waſt borne in the palace of the good Marcus Aurelius, and Heliogabalus being thy nephue, if thou wilt be remoued from this follye, and reduce thy ſelfe into my ſubiection and obedience, I will relieue thee of this exile, and to thy nephue Heliogabalus will I giue a Conſulſhip: and if not, wee are come vnto the time, that men muſt doe what they may, and the Gods as they pleaſe.

CHAP. V.

Of a letter written by the great matrone *Mesia* vnto the tyrant Macrinus.

When *Mesia* receiued the letter from the tyrant Macrinus, her nephue Heliogabalus, & al the principall captaines of the armies beeing present (who of set purpose did beholde her countenance all the time that shée read the same, which matter was both merueilous and to be noted, in consideration of such a letter, so furnished with malice, and fraught with despite) she neither chaunged countenance, or saide one worde after the reading of the same. Aboue all men or women of her dayes, in two pointes this famous matrone Mesia excelled, which is to wéete, for great solicitude in affaires, and souereigne patience in trauells: and so it came to passe, she ofte vsed to say, that shée neuer losse matter by negligence, or euer aunsweared anie man as one passioned. Heliogabalus and all that were present, did not a litle request the renouned matrone Mesia to reade that letter vnto them, or tell what it conteined, which she vtterly refused, saying vnto them, that it were a facte verie euill, presently to reade it, and a déede much worsse, if after in time and place shée did not shewe it. This beeing done and Mesia withdrawne, shée aunswered to *Macrinus* his letter after this manner.

Mesia Phoenicia, vnto Ancius Macrinus his person, health and consolation in the Gods.

In this the fronte of my letter, I do not curse or banne thee as thou didst me, in ỳ beginning of thine: for wee that be persons bred and trayned in princes courts,

courtes, do not a little presume to be praised for our good nourture: and to escape to be noted malicious. Vrbanitie, beneuolence, and good manners, ought not to be loste for anie vnkindnesse, or forgotten for any occasion: for that amongst persons noble & shamfaste, although they doe them iniuries, yet they endure not to speake vile wordes. Thou shouldest haue remembred (Macrinus) that I was a woman, to whõe thou didst write, and thou a man that didst take the same in hande: and that, if thou hadst founde thy selfe offended or dishonoured by me, thou shouldest haue reuenged thy selfe with thy lance, as a noble person, and not with thy penne as a cowarde. The armour and defence of women is the toung, but men defend them selues with their swordes or weapons: wherfore my Lorde Seuerus did vse to say, that it were a great wante in a man, to reuenge his cause with woordes: and too muche lightnesse in a woman to defende her griefe with weapons. But the case shalbe thus, that since thou takest my office, which is to speake, I will take thine which is to fight: for that the glorie wherof thou presumest to haue slaine so manie men, thou shalte be depriued in receiuing thy death at the hands of a woman.

Thou sayest in thy letter, that thou didst banishe me thy house, and caste me out of Rome, as a woman of an euill toung, and seditious in the common welth: Macrinus, thou haste to vnderstande, that I am not so much grieued with that which thou writest to me, as for the occasion whiche thou giuest mee to aunswere thee: because I may not directly aunswere vnto thy vilenesse, without disgraceing of my grauitie.

If I had beene a woman of an euil toung, and reuolting from the common wealth, (as thou Macrinus vniuſtly reporteſt) would they haue ſuffered mee in their courtes? and would the good Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, and my lorde Seuerus haue retained mee in their houſes? In Princes palaces, and in all citizens houſes, all vices are couered, or at the leaſt, ſhadowed, except the perſon that is ſeditious, or foule and liberall tounged: which is, not onely intollerable, but much leſſe to be hidden. I appeale vnto the immortall Gods for witneſſes, if in fiftie & three yeres, in which I haue beene trained and reſident in Princes courtes, I did euer hurte any perſon, either in worde or deede, which thou knoweſt to be moſte true, becauſe all men did loue mee, for that I traueiled and did good for all perſons. Thou Macrinus didſt baniſhe mee thy courte, to haue more ſcope to followe thy vice: for thou wel knoweſt, & alſo all perſons in Rome, that thy lewdneſſe and my grauitie might not dwell vnder one couert. Thou ſayeſt in thy letter, that my nephue Heliogabalus ſhalbe whipt as a boye, and I, as a woman ſhalbe ſent to ſpinne: vnto woordes ſo farre diſtempered, and of ſo greate deſpight as theſe are, I doe not permitt to be aunſwered, but to be reuenged. If, when thou didſt write vnto mee and my nephue, woordes ſo foule, and of ſo great enormitie, thou hadſt remẽbred what I was, and what thou arte: which is to weete, that my father was a knight of Phoenicia, & thy father a ſmith of Capua: thou ſhouldeſt haue cõſidered, that in ſending mee to ſpinne on a diſtaffe, I would ſend thee to blowe at the bellowes.

To that which thou ſayeſt, that it were more for

my

my honeſtie amõgeſt frames to be weauing, then bribing and ſeducing the armies, which as thou ſayeſt ſo haue I performed: for I giue thee to vnderſtand, that I haue warpt ſuch a webb, as thou neither knoweſt to vnframe, or mayſt cut off when it is finiſhed. Macrinus, thou hadſt neede of more vnderſtanding, and alſo of more power, either to whip my nephue Heliogabalus, or ſet me to ſpinne: for, notwithſtanding our thoughtes be lowe, yet our fortune is high: but thou haſt a baſe fortune, and a hautie hart. Alſo thou ſayeſt in thy letter, that to make my nephue an Emperour, I haue diuided all my treaſure amongeſt the men of warre: and that of me onely it may be ſaid, that I robbed the Empire, to buye ỹ empire. To this I anſwere, that thou haſt ſaid right well: if, as thou art a tyraunt thou wert an Emperour: but I buy not the Empire for my nephue, but redeeme it from thee which art a tyrant, and no leſſe aſſured, that the fathers of the ſacred Senate wil allow my election, and violate thy tyrannie. In that thou ſayeſt that I robbed the Empire to buye the Empire, proceedeth of vile ſlaunder, and no leſſe falſhood: ſince thou, Macrinus, doſt know moſt certainly, that to obteine riches, I needed not rob the cõmon wealth: becauſe my patrimonie is very great, my huſbãd left me rich, my ſiſter Iulia gaue me al her treaſure, my Lord Seuerus ceaſed not to giue me monie, the Conſul Furius mine vnckle, gaue me a yearely ſtipend, & for al men for whom I ſued, ſomewhat was preſented me: in ſuch wiſe, that I had alwayes to giue, and at no time founde my ſelfe in neceſſitie to craue. If this be true (as it is moſt true) being a Lady of ſo great wealth: why ſhouldeſt thou Macrinus defame mee with theft? Beleeue me (thou Macrinus) if I

ſhould haue giuen my ſelfe to bribe,& to rob,(as thou ſayeſt) the common wealthes of princes, I might not haue beene accepted in the Courtes of princes: much leſſe when great ladies & princes (as I am) that ioy to giue rewards,and bluſh to receiue any ſeruice whiche they offer vs. The armies beeing (as they were) ſo poore,in ſuch diſtreſſe,and ſo euill paid, if thou hadſt beene a perſon of any vertue, or haddeſt preſumed of the cõdition of a ſounde Romane, thou wouldſt not haue ſaid that my liberalitie had beene briberie, but a noble reliefe. And alſo thou ſayeſt in thy letter,for ỹ I haue beene nouriſhed in royal houſes, I haue committed treaſon vnto thy royall perſon. To this I aunſwere Macrinus, that I haue beene nouriſhed & trayned in kinges houſes,I confeſſe: but to ſay that I haue committed treaſon vnto any royal perſon, I denie it: that for as much as to take away ỹ Empire from thee, & to giue it vnto Heliogabalus,is,to remoue a tyrant, and place an Emperour, which is ſonne vnto an Emperour. Thou calleſt me traytour, thou being a moſt arrant traitour: ſince it is notorious vnto al men,that by thy counſel and commaundement,Martianus ſlue the Emperour Baſſianus: who for thy deeds of great enormitie, was determined to cut off thine head,whiche thou preuentedſt by the ſlaughter of his perſon:in ſuch wiſe,that I am not to be termed traytreſſe,for the election of Heliogabalꝰ,but thou for murthering Baſſianus. I appeale vnto the gods for wittneſſe betwixt me and thee,who behold vs: and to men,vnto whom in time it may be knowen, which of vs both is ỹ traytour: either thou whiche haſte ſlaine the Emperour Baſſianus, or I whiche haue giuen all my treaſure to reuenge his bloud; wherein (Macrinus)thou haſt not

to

to ſay, that the matrone Meſia is a traytreſſe to the bloud royal,but a reuenger of the ſame. It were a negligence of the gods to permit, and a ſhame for men to conſent: namely,for thee(Macrinus) being a ſmithes ſonne,couſen to a potter, enimie of Seuerus,& committing ſlaughter of Baſſianus,to poſſeſſe the empire: for the honour conſiſteth not in holding the Empire, but in the merite of the empire. If thou haddeſt beene trained and bred in kings houſes,& hadſt beene of the bloud royall, and in ſuch maner obteined the ſcepter imperial,I would neuer haue ſaid one word,but moſt readily obeyed:but being(as thou art)ſo cruel a tyrant that vſurpeſt the Empire againſt the wils of all men,I hope in ſuch wiſe with thee to behaue my ſelfe, ỳ the dead ſhal hold themſelues for bleſſed,& the liuing diſburdened. And ſince thou Macrinus doſt call me traitreſſe,let vs both ſet downe a reckoning,to ſee againſt whome,howe, when,and for what cauſe, I am charged with this treaſon: for in this ſo vile a deede wherwith I am ſo burthened,it is great reaſon, the ſorowful Meſia ſhouldbe heard. If thou Macrinus,dareſt ſay that thou art Lord of all men and Emperour of Romaines,it were greate reaſon, that thou didſt ſhew vs the Robe,the Crowne,the Scepter,the Eagle,the ring and the Seale: it were great reaſon alſo, to ſhewe who did electe thee, confirme thee, or giue thee the Empire: becauſe if thou mayeſt manifeſt vnto vs any election, I will confeſſe my ſelfe to haue committed treaſon. The principall action whiche I finde in thee, is: that thou murtheredſt Baſſianus, exaltedſt thy ſelfe with the armie, robbedſt the treaſurie, tyrãnizedſt the Empire,and intituledſt thy ſelfe Emperour: in ſuch wiſe, ỳ thou neither didſt obteine it by

iuſtice,

iuſtice,or haddeſt it by inheritance: but diddeſt rob it by tyrannie. Alſo thou ſayeſt in thy letter,that if I & my nephue would yeeld obedience,thou wilt pardon my exile,and giue him a Conſulſhip. To this I aunſwere, that now al thinges are ſo farre concluded,that there remayneth no time to talke of ſhares:and if wee ſhould vnderſtand therein, thou ſhouldeſt take what were offered thee,without thy electiō of what ſhould pleaſe thee:for that partes and ſhares in ſuch like caſes, are not accuſtomed to be giuen by traytours, but by Lords abſolute in eſtate. Thou & I Macrinus are incountred in ſo narrowe a condition, that the Gods, fortune,and alſo armes,haue to declare thy malice,& my innocencie: thy tyrannie, and my iuſtice: thy treaſon, and my fidelitie: thy falſhod,and my trueth: thy crueltie,and my zeale:thy pride and my patience: thy treaſon,and my ſimple intent: which being done, they ſhal giue the Empire,not vnto him that deſireth, but vnto him that ſhall deſerue the ſame.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Howe the tyraunt Macrinus was ſlaine in battell.

After that Meſia had written her letter,and diſpatched Macrinus meſſengers,ſhe conferred with the principal Captaines of the armie: vnto whom ſhe diſcouered what *Macrinus* had written, and how ſhe had anſwered ẏ ſame: who were not a litle græued with the diſcourteſies that it conteyned, and greatly commended the aunſwere whiche *Meſia* had made. And as *Macrinus* had ſaid in his letter, that the Romaine hoſtes did vſe to giue the Empire, not vnto the perſon of moſt deſeruing, but vnto him that beſt did pay them; ſo ẏ Romaine captaines were not therewith a litle

a litle despited, presently swearing, not once but many times, that Macrinus might not satisfie that iniurie with lesse cost, then with the losse of his head. Macrinus committed no small error, in banishing *Mesia*, but much more in writing that letter, but most of all in charging the armies with such an outrage: for that it was the totall occasion, for *Mesia* to recouer more fauour, and *Macrinus* to lose his credite. Of this so notable example, princes and other great potentates haue to take example, that when their people or vassals shall be altered, or mutined, very much to consider, not only what they do, but also what they say and write: for that in rebellious times, more hurt is done with a word or a letter, then at another time with a notable iniurie. The Matrone *Mesia*, with her exile not a litle grée- ued, and with the letter no lesse displeased: neither would sléepe by night, or rest by day: prouiding thinges necessarie for the warres, and dispatching posts for Italie: for her intent was, to sustéine her estate in Asia with armes, and in Rome with letters and promises. This citie which *Mesia* possessed, was of 2000. houtholdes, where she made preparation of engins wherewith to whirle, and bulworkes to defend: and further, gaue commaundement, that the moste valiante persons, and most choyst capitaines should remaine within the same: not onely to resist, but also to offend. When *Macrinus* read the letter that *Mesia* had written, and was aduertised by his messengers, how patiently, and without alteration shee read his letter, he was not a little grœued therewith: for he had opinion of ỹ matrone *Mesia*, that shee had skill to dissemble iniuries, and after in processe to reuenge the same.

The Prefect of *Macrinus* armie, was a valiaunt Capitaine, named Iulianus, whom he sent with his greatest power vnto the citie which *Mesia* and her nephue Heliogabalus did possesse: giuing commaundement, that he should trauel to take them aliue, to performe his promise whiche he had sworne: which is to witt to set *Mesia* to spinne, and her nephue to bee whipt. Iulianus was a Capitaine bold

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and valiaunt, who beſæging the citie, which he thought to be in diſtreſſe, more then it was, and giuing a furious aſſault, hauing ſkarcely mounted on the topp of the wall, the ſouldiours of the citie by plaine ſtrength pulled him ouer, cut off his head, and hanged it out on a tower. The morrowe after that theſe thinges had paſſed, Meſia commaunded certaine of Macrinus Capitaines, to be called into her preſence, who vpon aſſurance approching vnto the fote of the wall, ſaid vnto them theſe words: that which I haue to ſay vnto you (my friends) is, that ye behold and conſider vppon this turret, the head of your ſorrowfull Capitaine Iulianus: and ſay vnto your maiſter Macrinus, that the diſtaffe wherewith I ſpinne is that launce, & that head is the call which I doe weaue and knit. When Macrinus heard the newes of the miſfortune that had happened vnto his Capitaine Iulianus, and what wordes the matrone Meſia had ſaid vnto the ſouldiers of his armie: hée ſaid (as it was reported) with a roring voyce: my deſtinies be finiſhed, my houre is come, and my fortune is ended. Macrinus with feare had his courage ſo daunted, that ſecretely he began to practiſe with the matrone Meſia, to diuide the Empire with her nephue Heliogabalus: but being (as ſhée was) in ſo great readineſſe, & no leſſe paſſioned, ſhe would in no wiſe accept, either as much as giue eare thereunto: and that, if ỹ Empire were to be diuided, it ſhould be with an Emperour, and not with a Tyrant.

Macrinus perceiuing his offers to be reiected, his words deſpiſed, and his preſents nothing regarded, determined to make a proofe of fortune, which with the whirle of her variable whæle, many times doeth wound without threatening: and ſometimes threateneth without wounding. *Macrinus* gathering and alſo paying his armie which hée had in the confines of Antioche, departed vnto Phœnicia, where hee camped very nére vnto the citie, which *Meſia* and her nephue Heliogabalus defended: who preſently ſent to giue Macrinus to vnderſtand, that hee ſhould not nede to take the paine to aſſault the towne, for that with-

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in very fewe dayes they would issue to giue him battell in the field. Two Romane armies, and two Romane Emperours, were in Phœnicia one against another: *Ma*crinus partie euery day diminishing, and the other not only increasing but also preuailing: for that daily the souldiers parted from Macrinus vnto Heliogabalus, vnderstanding that hee was sonne vnto *Bassianus*, and did acknowledge him for their Emperour, & kissed his hands as their natural Lord and soueraigne.

By the number that daily fledd from him, in their double speach which they vsed with him, in the fickle seruice which they did him, by his bands which daily diminished, and by their weake courage in fighting: *Ma*crinus did clearely perceiue, that hee might not obtaine victorie, but sawe himselfe to be in daunger of a sale vnto his enimies. Macrinus counterfected a shew vnto his souldiers of courage to fight, and yet was in great readinesse to flye: for that at all times, when he issued to encounter or skirmish, he was mounted vpon an horse of great swiftnes, and likewise disguised.

Mesia being aduertised, that *Ma*crinus had greater regard to the safetie of his life, then his honour or goods, prouided to issue at the soudeine to giue him battel: the which although on both sides was thoroughly imbrued in bloud, and not a litle daungerously contended, yet in the end, *Ma*crinus was put to flight, and staied in a village, but with the losse of his head. This was the end and conclusion of the tyrant *Ma*crinus, which vsurped the Romane dominion xiiij. monethes, and tenne dayes: who was so cruell (besides all other vices) that amongest his owne souldiers he was termed, not *Ma*crinus, but *Ma*cellin⁹, which is to say, butcher: for that in respecte of the humaine bloud whiche hee shedde, hee more semed a butcher, then a Romane Prince.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

¶ Of a notable letter written by the matrone *Mesia*, vnto the Senate of Rome, craving the confirmation of the Empire vnto Heliogabalus her nephue.

The tyrant *Macrinus* being dead and beheaded, presently the two armies ioyned in one: and notwithstanding the one part had followed Heliogabalus, & the other *Macrinus*, yet the matrone *Mesia* thought it not meet to moue disputatiõ, who had bene traytours, or who had bene loyall: affirming it to be more conuenient time, to win minds, then to reuenge iniuries. Although the matrone *Mesia* in al other matters past, had discouered her great wisedome, yet in this case aboue the rest she made a shew of her great prudence: for that (to say the truth) in rebellious times, & amongest mutinous people, princes ought not to occupie themselues in chastisements, but in reconcilementes. All the capitaines of *Macrinus* that escaped the battell, conceyuing howe *Mesia* commaunded by publicke proclamation, that no man should presume to call them traytours, either vse them with foule wordes, ioyntly assembled of their owne francke minds, to confesse her to be their soueraigne Lady: and to kisse the handes of Heliogabalus for their Emperour.

The matrone *Mesia* vowed her selfe to ioy, for obteyning reuenge of the tyrant *Macrinus*, and to behold the armies ioyned in one, yelding due obedience to her nephue Heliogabalus: that from the yeares of lxvj. she discouered a gesture and countenaunce but of xl. yeares of age. Although the matrone *Mesia* held the Empire of her nephue Heliogabalus safe and established, partly to see the enimie slaine, as also for the obedience receiued of both the armies; yet she prouided that Heliogabalus should not intitle himselfe

selfe Vniuersal Lord, or Onely Emperour, vntill the Romanes had receiued him, and the Senate confirmed him. Not fiue dayes after these thinges had passed in Phœnicia, the matrone *Mesia* sent a solemne embassage vnto Rome: and secretly gaue vnto the Embassadors many Iewels to diuide amongest the Senatours, and for time to come in her behalfe to make them great offers: to the end with iewels to trayne them to her purpose, and with hope to enterteine them. This being done, *Mesia* wrote vnto the Senate a letter sufficiently well indited, after this maner.

Mesia Phoenicia, vnto the sa-
cred Romane Senate, health and grace.

Vnto men so glorious in acts, & so graue in precepts and doctrine, (as ye are right reuerent fathers cõscript) it may seme a matter both new & straunge, for a woman to write vnto the sacred Romane Senate: which renowmed name the Gods do reuerence, & men therat do tremble and are terrified. The matters, which by my embassadours I send to giue you to vnderstand, neither for that I am a woman that may do litle, your grauitie hath not to cõsider of the same as a matter of smal importance: becausse all men are not so wise, that none doth misse: either al womẽ so vnable but ẏ some escape error. Those thĩgs which ye shal read in this my letter, or shal heare at ẏ mouth of my Embassadours, I sweare vnto you by the immortall gods, and by the sepulchres of mine elders, that they be most true & not feigned: for that in a Lady of mine estate, it were lesse infamie to be vnchast, then to be a lyar. I haue heard my Lord Mar. Aurelius say, when I was but a child, that in women alwayes were conioyned, truth & cha

ſtitie,and a woman of trueth,was neuer but chaſte: & a woman addicted to lying,did neuer continue in cõtinencie.Some of you that now are liuing may remẽber,when ỹ Empreſſe Iulia my ſiſter,came to be wife of the Emperour Seuerus, and how in her company I came to the Court, wherin I was long & many yeares both ſerued and alſo perſecuted:for as in courts of princes, they that ſeeke their ſingular aduancement:ỹ one ceaſeth not to perſecute the other. Although in princes palaces where I liued,I haue beene perſecuted, defamed,and alſo enuied:yet I beſeech the immortal gods, ỹ the dealing & entreatance,which then I vſed, with ſuch as wiſhed me euil,that the ſame&no other, they will performe on me,which now wiſh me well. In 53. yeares ỹ I haue ſtayed in diuers princes courts, I neuer daſht any perſon out of countenance, I neuer toke the tale out of their mouth,I neuer ſpake any iniurious word,I neuer reproued any perſõ,I neuer did preiudice any mans name, & neuer iniuriouſly tooke any vengeance: becauſe in houſes of great princes,no man maye obteine aduauncement,if hee lacke ſkil to ſuffer. This which I here relate (fathers conſcript)is, not to recouer praiſe,but to the end ye ſhould beleeue me; for if my perſõ poſſeſſe no credite,my embaſſage muſt needs haue iſſue of no effect. Speaking more in particular,I ſay: ye know that many yeares ſince my ſiſter and I departed Rome, attending on the emperour Baſſianus, and after that the traitour Macrinus had ſlaine him,Iulia his vnfortunate wife,ſo ſenſiblie did feele his death,that by extreeme ſorrowe ſhe finiſhed her life.Fortune would not cõſent to depriue me of my vital ſpirits,when my ſiſter Iulia was bereft of life; and this ſhe did,not to the end to forget mee, but

the more to greeue mee: becauſe in great perils and miſfortunes, if at ỳ time fortune did diſſemble, it was not ſo much as to honour them, as afterwardes to bee reuenged of them. Of the death of Baſſianus my lord and your emperour, as it was in my hands to bewaile him, if it had beene as well to defende him, either hee had neuer died, or elſe had beene raiſed to life: for that moſt truly, although Baſſianus were yonge, vaine, fickle, abſolute, & diſſolute, yet on the other part, he was patient, ſilent, and pitiful: and it might haue beene, in the burthen of greater age, he would haue forgotten ỳ vices of his youth. There is no confidence at al times in moſt wiſe men, either deſpaire in fickle yonge mẽ: for that we ſee all day long, that many times age doth bring forth fruite, where reaſon did not yeld as much as leaues. He that in deede laide hands on Baſſianus, was that caytiue Martianus: but he that commaunded him to be ſlaine, was the traitour Macrinus: a man moſt truly of baſe condition, infamous life, obſcure linage, an idiot in letters, intemperant in ſpeach, vicious in maners, and a tyrant in his workes. Ye perfectly perceiue (fathers conſcript) that a man ſo much defamed, were a ſlaunder to be receiued & accepted for a prince: for that in great eſtates & Segniories, it is not ſufficient that their princes be valiant, but alſo honourable: which is to wit, not to want proportion in their perſons, and to haue noblenes in bloud, of all whiche things Macrinus hath no poſſeſſion: for, beſids that he is of obſcure linage, infamous of life, cruel of cõdition and falſe of promiſe: ſo had he a ſwarte viſage, and a dwarfs body, he was ſplay footed, & alſo poare blind.

Macrinus was not ſatiſfied to haue ſlaine Baſſianus, but alſo vſurped the Empire: and to heape euill

vppon euil, did ſweare vppon the altar of the temple, that he had not ſlaine Baſſianus, in ſuch wiſe, that the periured Macrinus, was not cõtented with homicide and manſlaughter: but before the Gods was alſo periured. But as the Gods are iuſt in rewarding the vertuous, and not careleſſe to chaſtice the wicked, & that the election of men, being not confirmed of the gods: my nephue Heliogabalus and I, haue herein vſed ſo great ſkill, that at the time when the tyrant Macrinus was moſt abandoned vnto the vices of Antioche, wee cut off his head: in ſuch wiſe, that Aſia was ſet free frõ his tyrannie, and the death of Baſſianus well reuẽged. The armies that were ſcattered, diſcõtented, diuided, and euil payed, we haue gathered together, payed, and vnited: and poſſeſſe all Aſia in obedience vnto the Romane Empire. Alſo (fathers conſcript) I wiſh ye to vnderſtand, that in the time of life, and alſo after the death of the tyrant Macrinus, the armies did elect my nephue Heliogabalus Emperour: which election I will not denie but that I deſired, practiſed, procured, and alſo bought: for that it ſeemed vnto mee, that the Empire being in the hands of ſuch a tyrant as Macrinus, it was not bought, but redeemed. If in this marte of the Empire I haue offended, I wil yeeld my ſelfe to al maner of puniſhment: but therwith I would haue ye to vnderſtand, that I bought it with my money, openly of your armie, from a tyrant, farre from Rome, in a rebellious time, and for the ſonne of Baſſianus: and I ſay for the ſonne of Baſſianus, which with moſt iuſte title ſhould haue inherited the Empire: if Macrinus had not vſurped the ſame.

Fathers conſcript, it ſeemeth not ẏ I haue deſerued blame, much leſſe any chaſtiſemẽt: becauſe by my induſtrie and

and proper goods, I haue paied your armies, set Asia in peace, slaine the tyrant, redeemed the Empire, and aboue all the reste, haue reuenged the death of Bassian⁹, & giuen as his inheritance apperteined vnto his sonne. As your armies do heare report, and there doe write, they were so poore and in such distresse, ỳ more iustly it may be said, not that I suborned but succoured them with my monie: because the more part had not to eate, nor garments to weare, aduẽturing to rob vppon the wayes, and in townes to filch & steale. And since my nephue is sonne vnto Bassianus, nephue vnto Seuerus, & a young man of himselfe in semblance of good inclination, it seemeth not that we haue erred in his electiõ, either shal ye swarue in his cõfirmation: for that in life he resembleth the father, and in courage and nobleneſſe of minde the graundfather. Neither is this election to be reproued, for his euil nourturing or doctrine: for as ye know, he was not trained in vices, but in temples: not with prophane men, but with honest priests: not robbing on high wayes, but offering sacrifices: not sheading bloud, but teares: not wandering at large, but withdrawen: not persecuting men, but seruing the gods. From a child of much infancie, I offered my nephue Heliogabalus to the gods in the temple: where he hath beene instructed to be milde, chaste, silent, patient, sober pitiful, and abstinent: and if by hap, he shall proue otherwise then nowe hee is, it may be for the libertie that he shal obteine, and not for the doctrine which he hath learned,

All princes past haue beene elected onely of men, but my nephue both of Gods and men: for that I vowed him to doe sacrifices, & the Gods haue rendered him to gouerne kingdomes.

Ye Romanes do greatly cõmend your ſelues, ỹ ye remoued Quintus Cincinat⁹ from earing at the plough to be Dictatour: but more is my nephue to be praiſed, that was praying in the temple: for of more excellencie is that man that prayeth before the gods, then he ỹ ploweth after oxen. In Rome alwayes in times paſt, the prieſthood was diuided from the Empire: but ye ſee that whiche was neuer ſeene of your forefathers, namely, that the prieſt is an Emperour, and the Emperour a prieſt: in ſuch wiſe, that with his ſacrifices, hee ſhal reconcile vs with the gods, & with the empire defend vs againſt our enimies. Fathers cõſcript, great & infinite thanckes haue we to render vnto all the gods, for that they haue giuen vs an Emperour which knoweth to pray, & hath ſkil to fight: for as ye al knowe, few victories are obteined by fight of mẽ, if the gods do not diſpoſe the ſame. Although the election of my nephue hath beene done by the armie, and ſuppoſed alſo to be confirmed by the gods: yet neither will I ỹ he rule the empire, or be eſtabliſhed Emperour, vntill by the ſacred Senate it be conſidered, & alſo cõfirmed: for I hold him not Emperour that is obeyed in Aſia, but that is loued & elected at Rome. Since this young mã Heliogabalus is the ſonne of a prince, the nephue, the couſen, the brother of a prince, & a prince elected, we haue al to preſume ỹ he ſhal proue a good prince: for that he is much bound to be good, that is defcẽded of many good perſons. As long as I enioy life, I ſhall not ceaſe to trauel that his life be ſuch, as the doctrine and nourture which I haue giuen him: and if after my death he ſhal proue euil, the fault ſhal then be none of mine, for as ye (fathers conſcript) do wel vnderſtand, no blame is to be imputed to him that is alreadie dead

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neither may any excuſe ſerue the manifeſt fault of the liueing.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ How the Romane Senate did allow the election of Heliogabalus, & of the preſent apparance of his wickednes.

The Embaſſadors being arriued, & their Embaſſage alſo knowen at Rome, both the Senate and people were in exceeding admiration, when they vnderſtood of ẏ great acts which *Meſia* had done in Aſia, & heard of the letter that ſhe wrote vnto Rome: whereof many copies were made, and ſent to diuers townes & cities. In Rome they found themſelues in great confuſiõ, vpon determinatiõ of an anſwere to ẏ demaund which the matrone *Meſia* had made, becauſe the Senate doubted her attẽpts in time to come: in reſpect wherof they ſo defer'd their aunſwere, ẏ the Embaſſadors cõplained vnto ẏ Tribune of the people. By letters of her Embaſſadors, the matrone *Meſia* was aduertiſed of ẏ diſſention betwixt the Senate and people, as concerning ẏ election & confirmation of her nephue Heliogabalus: wherevpon preſently ſhe determined to depart frõ Aſia, to Italie, vowing w̃ an othe to conſtraine the Senat to performe by force, that which they refuſed to accompliſh of their owne accord. The Senate hauing intelligence, the matrone *Meſia* to be departed frõ Aſia to Rome, not to ſue or make requeſt, but to fight, forgate not to allow the election of Heliogabalus: commaunding by publique proclamation, that from thẽceforth they ſhould hold & eſtæme him as their ſouereigne lord, & obey him as emperour. The matrone *Meſia* iourneying from Aſia to Rome, & vnderſtanding that the Senate had confirmed the election of Heliogabalus, ſtayed in the borders of Greece: for that to returne vnto Phœnicia was very far, & to ſaile vnto Italie, no leſſe late. The winter being paſt, Meſia in the prime of the Spring ſayled into Italie, directing her courſe ſtreight vnto Rome, where ſhe was wel receiued, and no leſſe feaſted: although

it be most true, at that instant shee was more feared, then beloued: but shee was of so great skill, and of so much patience, that she most wisely could dissemble iniuries, and accept and also gratifie seruice. Mesia was so prudent and aduised, that neither in countenaunce, gesture, wordes or workes, she did either secretly or openly, discouer any malice against any person: but delt with all persons as with her sonnes, and honoured al men as her brethrene. All the Romanes were so pleased with the grauitie of her speach, and the honestie of her life, that on a day the Senate & people being conioyned, requested with great instance, that it might please her to accept the gouernement of the cõmon wealth, since she had therein so great experience, and that her nephue was in Asia. To this demaund *Mesia* answered. Fathers conscript, I do greatly gratifie your request, which vnto me appertayneth not: for that it rather agreeth with the condition of women, to breede and nourish Emperours, and vnto men to gouerne Empires.

When these matters passed in Rome, Heliogabalus stayed in Phœnicia, attending an answere from his grandmother Mesia: who being aduertised that he was accepted in Rome for their absolute Lord, & souereigne Emperour, came immediatly vnto Antioch, with intent the yeare following to passe into Italie. Heliogabalus finding himselfe escaped, & frely deliuered from the church, confirmed Emperour, dispatched of the hands of tutours, absent from his grandmother, and in possession of libertie, to liue at his liking, his euil inclination presently appeared: because the vertue (if he had any) of his former life, was but feyned: for the euill inclination of young men, may for a time be dissembled: but being at libertie, they cannot cloake it. The
" first insolencie ỹ Heliogabalus committed in Asia, was, ỹ
" he apparelled himselfe in a robe wouen wt gold, silke, cotton,
" flax, & woll, large downe vnto ỹ foote, sowen all ouer with
" pearles & precious stones: and set a crowne on his head af-
" ter the maner of Thyara, bracelets on his armes, & earings
" on his eares: in such maner, that vnto the simple hee gaue

occa-

occasion to gaze, vaine persons to talke, and wise men to wonder. All that winter he gaue him selfe to learning, not of science, but to playe on drommes, fluites, and suche other pipes, to daunce as a shepeheard, & rustically to sing as a man of the countrie, and to iest as a Juggler: in such wise, that for him selfe he sought out schooles agréable vnto the life which he meant to leade. The spring of the yeare béing come, Heliogabalus departed towardes Rome, where at the porte of Hostia, his graundmother Mesia receiued him: and when shée sawe her nephue, in such libertie of life, and so straunge in apparell, shée was touched with no small disgrace, in respect of suche Romanes as did accompanie her: and no lesse offended of the priuate and fauoured seruauntes that did attende him. The matrone Mesia was so wise in her counsels, and so aduised in her actes, that shée conferred with her nephue in secrete, crauing moste instantly, that in no wise hée shoulde aduenture to enter Rome with that manner of garment: for that it might fall out, in beholding him in the habite of so straunge attyre, they would bothe mutine and be scandalized.

Heliogabalus gaue good eare vnto the counsell of his graundmother, but her request he lefte vtterly vnperfourmed, which was vnto her no small griefe and displeasure: for that shée heard it with her owne eares, and the Romanes also saide it vnto her face, howe contrary the actes of her nephue were to the writing that shée had sent touching him out of Asia.

Heliogabalus béing arriued at Rome, was receiued of the common people with greate ioye and solemnitie: but the auncient and noble personages of Rome, beholding his presumption in commaunding, his rashe and hastie speache, his greedinesse in fédinge, his straungenesse in attyre, and vnstedinesse and wantonnesse in gesture, could not satisfie them selues with sighing, & much lesse with murmuring. When a certeine Senatour demaunded the matrone Mesia, why shée did permit her

nephue to be clad in a vesture, so vnaccustomed, sighing she aunswered: It grieueth me not so much of his straunge attire, as of his wicked manners: because we may steale his garmente, but his lewde conditions wee cannot alter. To
» celebrate certeine feasts named Quirinales, Heliogabalus
» commaunded manie beastes to be slaine: and the moste
» auncient and honourable Senatours to beare the spittes,
» being fired vnto lances: in such wise, that he thought to
» do them no small honour, vnto whome he gaue a lance and
» a spitte. The matrone *Mesia* beholding her nephue He-
» liogabalus, euerie day increasing from better to woorse,
» the people of him to growe into hatred, and that he would
» neither beleeue her, either às muche as reuerence her,
» she forgate not to leaue Rome, and to returne into Phœ-
» nicia, where shee had lefte her house, and also her ri-
» ches.

CHAP. IX.

Of manie vices that were conteined in the Emperour Heliogabalus.

TO reporte at large all the vices of Heliogabalus, were to emptie and drawe drie droppe by droppe the riuer Nilus, or to wade the great riuer of Danubie: because they are so manie, so vile, and so scandalous, that it shoulde be shame to write them, and loste time to read them. Of many we shall write a fewe, and of the most vile the least dishoneft: to the ende, ỹ all men whiche shall sée or read this writing, may conceiue the deserued blame of the Romains, to holde and suffer such a beaste for their Emperour: for that he was not onely vnmete to gouerne a common wealth: but also his life in him was moste euill imployed.

We wil write partly of his euil life, to discouer vnto men his euill end: for as ỹ diuine Plato saide, though men can cloke

cloke and dissemble others faultes: yet do not the Goddes pardon their iniuries. This vnfortunate Prince was vicious, absolute, dissolute, and (whereof we haue moste to wonder) neuer wearied in his wickednes: for, if vertue be tedious, vice is yrkesome. Heliogabalus entring the Empire, presently his house was furnished with lyars, Iugglers, & iesters: vnto whome he neither denyed the entrie of his chamber, or the secretes of his house. Heliogabalus greatly delighted to playe and represent the fable and storie of Paris the Troyan, and the Goddesse Venus, who with his complices were clad in such garmentes, as in the chiefest of their playe fell from them, and discouered their nakednesse: that vnto all graue persons, occasion was giuen of murmuring, and to all light persons, of laughing.

This déede was not onely of greate indignitie, but also escandalous to be represented of a Prince: for it sufficeth not, that Princes be honest in their owne persons: but they must not permitte either worde or deede that is vnhonest, to be saide or done in their presence. They did yerely celebrate a certeine feast named Salabona, which continued thrée dayes, in the firste day they were washed and let bloud, on the seconde they sighed and were silent, and on the thirde they feasted and reioyced in their moste costly attyre, in the memorie of Adonides the greatest louer that had béene in the worlde: the ende of this feast was, to represent the trauels, sighes, sorrowes, graces and disgraces, that louers susteined before their souereigne delight was obteined. *He*liogabalus had in his chamber a young man named Zotipus, of bodye, face, and gesture, verie faire and gracious: but of maners and conditions no lesse corrupted: for that in his wordes he was a lyar, in dealing double, false of promise, periured of his othe, and malicious in all his thoughtes.

*He*liogabalus was oft aduertised of the words, déedes, and lewd life of Zotipus: but as affection did more reigne in

in him, then reason, so could he neither be seperated from his conuersation, or giue credit to anie repo?te that was saide of him, accompting gibes and iestes, gratious recreations: guile, liuelinesse of spirite: deceites, diligence: crosse dealinge, pastime: and malice, subtiltie. Verie wo?thy was Zotipus of chastisemente, and Heliogabalus of much greater repr?hensiō: because if princes haue licence to dissemble the faultes of their fauoured seruaunts, they ought not to allowe and confirme them: for of great reason none ought to be so acceptable vnto the prince, that op?ly dare aduenture to committe euill. At the time of his repaste, he did manie times commaunde Philosophers and o?ato?s to appeare in his p?esence, not to dispute of naturall courses, but of vnchaste adulteries. At time of conference with Ambassadours, Senato?s, or other graue persons, he would either play with his handes, or twinkle and winke with his eyes, in such wise, that suters departed with disgrace, and not answeared. As concerning women he neither spared matrones, married women, virgins, or widowes: but that all such as he fauoured, he either obteined, or else defamed.

In d?inking he was also diso?dinate, fo? at some times he woulde d?inke water, somtimes wine, somtimes ale, somtimes sider, somtimes sodde water, somtimes golden water, some times stild water, and at other times hee woulde not d?inke, but b?othes and colleses. In the manner of his feeding, he neither vsed autho?itie, or obserued grauitie: fo? at some times, he woulde eate sittinge in a chaire, sometimes on a bench, and somtimes walking: fo? he vsed to say, that in suche manner, he did both eate and digest. Naturally hee was giuen to sleepe verie litle, through the weakenesse of his b?aine: and slepte in all places without respect, as well in the temple, as in the Senate, in the garden, in the bath, in the bedde, and also in the market place: in suche wise, that hee wanted fo?ce to re?ste the leaste motions and affections of his inclination.

Helio-

Heliogabalus did inuent at Rome, a certeine manner of feasting named, Festum vindemiarum, that is to saye, the feast of grapegathering: which feast was so dissolute & vnshamefast vnto the viewe of ỹ common people, that afterwards in Rome they neuer cõsented to ỹ celebratiõ therof. He was also greatly addicted to playe at tennis, and whē he was offended with any olde Senatour, either any auncient or honourable Romane, he would sende for him to playe and accompany him: with whome he would playe so much, that in the end the sorrowfull gentleman should departe vnto his house, both tyred, beswett, and drudged, and also many times despoyled of his money. He went verie seldome vnto the temples, was vtterly voide and barren of all friendship or affection vnto wise men, was neuer sene to read in bookes, greatly abhorred suters & affaires, was negligent, either to paye or refourme the armies, made small accompt either of friendes or enimies: finally, he was addicted vnto his owne opinion, and a mortall enimie vnto reason.

CHAP. X.

¶ Of a letter written by the great matrone Mesia vnto her nephue the Emperour Heliogabalus.

THE greate matrone *Mesia* being aduertised in Asia, of her nephue Heliogabalus so farre inraged with vice in Rome, did write him a letter after this manner.

My sonne Heliogabalus, when thou departedst from Asia vnto Rome, I hoped to haue heard such newes of thee, as might be ioyfull to thy common wealth, and haue giuen vnto mee greate renoune & glorie: but as I am aduertised here, and also giuen to vnder-

vnderstand from thence, there thou doest ministre matter for all men to murmur: and here vnto mee sufficient cause to weepe. Sixtie sixe yeares are past since I was borne into this worlde, in which I haue buried and bewailed my father Torquatus, my mother Aristina, my sister Phillis, and her husbande Tharsus. Also I buried and bewailed my husband Aristippus, my sonne Lucius Francus, my daughter Dolobella, and her husband Martianus. Also I bewailed and buried the good Emperour Marcus Aurelius, and the Empresse Faustina my good and gratious Ladie: in whose house I was borne, and in whose palace I was married. I also buried and bewailed the Emperour Commodus, the Emperour Pertinax, Annius Pastor mine vncle, Mirtha mine aunte, Camillus my nephue, and Ioanna my neece. Also I buried and bewailed the Emperour Seuerus, my onely good Lorde and famous Emperour. Also I bewailed and buried thine vnfortunate father, my deare and moste desired sonne: whose name I dare not, either any other, expresse in my presence: because the sounde thereof constraineth mee to breake foorth in teares. I thought it expedient (my sonne) to leade thee vnto remembrance of al these thy predecessours, to the ende thou mayst see, howe small reason it were, that I should bewaile the liuing, since I haue wept all the dayes of my life, for so many persons that are dead. When thou wast borne by stealth, and I did both hide and couer thee: when I did remoue thee from Rome, and brought thee vnto Grecia: when I caused thee to be instructed in Greeke letters, and bred and nourished thee in companie of wise men: when I did offer thee vnto

the

the God Heliogabalus, and made thee a prieſt in his ſacred temple: I thought (my ſonne) that all theſe thinges ſhould ſerue mee for ioye and peace in my repoſed age: and not to bewaile thy childiſhe youthfulneſſe.

In this I acknowledge, how free the iudgements of the Gods are from the thoughtes of men: in that the gods determine one thing, and men ſuppoſe another: which hath chaunced both vnto thee and to mee (O my ſonne Heliogabalus:) becauſe the childiſhneſſe which thou doeſt vſe, and the vices thou poſſeſſeſt, I did not onely thinke, thou wouldſt not committe: but alſo, that in thy minde they ſhoulde neuer haue had paſſage. When I did place thee with the greate prieſte Gorgias, cauſed thee to be apparayled in the ſacred veſture, prayedſt daily vnto the gods, and alſo euery weeke diddeſt offer ſacrifice in the temple: I hoped thou ſhouldeſt haue proued a Paragon in vertue, and not (as thou arte) a monſter in all vice.

If thou wouldeſt conſider, many thinges do perſuade, and alſo binde thee to be good, but nothinge prouoketh thee to be euill: that is to weete, to be a man reaſonable, to haue beene a prieſt, to be borne in Rome, to be nowe an Emperour, to haue nouriſhed thee in my houſe, and to be deſcended of bloud ſo noble and generous: for it much prouoketh men to perfourme that which they ought to do, & to remember from whence they be deſcended. Beleeue mee, my ſonne, that with leſſe coſt, and more eaſe, thou ſhalt be vertuous, then vicious: becauſe vices content the fleſhe when they are committed, and torment the hearte after they be perfourmed: but vertues

yelde

yelde not ſo much griefe in their woorking, as pleaſure when we haue giuen repulſe vnto vice. I may not comprehende the froward fortune that foloweth thee, or the ſorrowfull deſtinies which haue purſued mee: ſince I nouriſhed thee in trueth, and thou proueſt, and arte become a lyar: I bred thee chaſte, and thou arte imbrued with impudicitie: I brought thee vp in temperance, & thou haſt ſtained thy ſelfe with exceſſe and gluttonie: I trayned thee in ſhamefaſtneſſe, and thou rendreſt a life moſte diſſolute: and that which is woorſt aboue the reſt, thou doeſt neither feare to offende the Gods, or eſcandalize men. Admitting thou wouldeſt not be good, for any offence vnto the Gods that haue created thee, or anye griefe or ſcandal vnto men with whome thou doeſt liue: yet oughteſt thou ſo to be, to remoue all heauineſſe and diſpleaſure from mee thy olde and ſorrowfull grandmother: ſince thou knoweſt, I bought for thee the Empire, by the weight of money drawen out of my cheſtes, and by force of teares iſſuing & breaking from mine entrailes. My ſonne, thou doeſt well knowe, that to make thee a Romane Prince, I gaue greate giftes vnto the temples, offered vnto the Gods infinite ſacrifices, gaue vnto the Pretorians all my treaſures, made vnto the Prieſtes great offers, & ſent vnto the Senatours moſte riche iewels, all which is nothing: for if it had beene poſsible, I would haue giuen my bloud vnto the immortall Gods, that thou mighteſt be one of them. And if I haue erred in purchaſeing the Empire, much more ſhould I erre to make thee one of the Gods, ſince in thee no vertue is to be founde, either any vice wanting. The Gods haue made thee faire of face, gallant of proportion,

ſtout

ſtout of ſtrength, learned in letters, expert in armes, valiant of heart, delicate in iudgement, and bolde in perils: but what profite all theſe graces, ſince thou art ſo greate an enimie of others counſel: and ſo farre enamored of thine owne proper iudgement? Thou followeſt vanitie, as one moſt inconſtant: thou doſt proſecute thine age, as one ouerchildiſhe: thou purſueſt ſenſualitie, as one moſt wilfull in follies: which thing for a while may be diſſembled, but long time may not be ſuffered: in ſuch wiſe, that either the Empire ſhal be loſt betwixt thine handes: or thou muſt dye within fewe dayes. As the ſeate of the Empire is conſecrated vnto the Gods, ſo they ſuffer not euil Princes long to reigne: which thou mayſt conſider in Tyberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Domitian, Commodus, Iulianus, Baſsianus & Niger, al which had ſo euil an ende, that where the yron of the enimie entred, by the ſame place the ſoule departed. Oh my ſorrowful and vnfortunate ſonne Baſsianus: of whome vntil this time I goe laden with ſorrowes: and alſo thou haſt to holde it for moſt certeine, that ſince thou arte a diſciple of his euil manners, ſo ſhalt thou be alſo a follower of his moſt miſerable death. Being verie young, and as then but a childe, I hearde my Lorde Marcus Aurelius verie oft ſaye, that the immortall Gods did ſooner ſlaye euil Princes, then other wicked perſons: becauſe the euil man, is only euil vnto his owne houſe and perſon: but the euil prince liueth to the hurte of the whole cõmon wealth. I bought not the Empire, for any other cauſe, but chiefely to renue the memorie of the good Emperour Antoninus Pius: but alas alas of mee? whoe greately feare

and alſo hold it for certeine, that as in Nero the generation of the Cæſars finiſhed: euen ſo in thee the ſincere linage of the Antonines ſhalbe ended.

In the dayes that I remained at Rome, I vnderſtoode, and ſince I came into Aſia, I haue alſo ſeene, that by the proſperitie of a good man, many be aduaunced: and by miſhap of a wicked perſon, many finiſh and decaye.

I am aduertiſed, that in thy houſe and chamber, men of wicked life, and little wiſedome, haue free entraunce and familiaritie: which in princes houſes, is verie perillous, and no leſſe pernitious: for that ſuch perſons do procure thee to followe the counſels which they ſhall giue, and to diſſemble the exceſſe which they ſhall committe. If thou bee euill, and ſuch as attende thee be wicked: howe maiſt thou haue hardineſſe to chaſtice any euill? To refourme others, thou muſt firſte refourme thy ſelfe: and to chaſtice others, thou haſt firſte to puniſhe thy ſeruaunts: for that, if the priuate and fauoured ſeruants of Princes be diſſolute, the cõmon wealth doeth fall out to be abſolute. In the reigne of my lorde Marcus Aurelius, I ſawe his courte furniſhed with vertuous perſons, and in the dayes of his ſonne Commodus, I ſawe his houſe filled with wicked people: and am well able to ſaye vnto thee, my ſonne, that as their houſes were, ſo was their common wealths. If thou wilt liue in quiet, go alwayes in peace, and auoide ſuſpicion: keepe in thine houſe continually men of honeſtie, grauitie, and wiſedome, becauſe honourable and wiſe men in Princes houſes, yealde authoritie with their perſons, and profite with their counſels.

Nowe,

Nowe, or neuer, thou maiſt withdrawe thine hande, ceaſe to be euil, and binde thy ſelfe to bee good: becauſe of all that is paſt, we will impute the fault to thy youth: which if thou refuſeſt to do, then will wee referre it whollie vnto thy wilfull vanitie. It profiteth not a litle for the healpe of good gouernement of the common wealth, that the Prince be of good life: for ſubiects hauing good Princes, imitate what they ſee, and perfourme what they commaunde.

CHAP. XI.

¶Of certeine lawes which the Emperour Heliogabalus made in Rome.

HEliogabalus made certeine lawes, wherof ſome were good, ſome indifferent, and others neither good nor euill, but moſte vaine: for as he vſed to ſaye, ſo greate authoritie haue Princes in their kingdomes, as the gods in the heauens. He made a lawe that no veſtall virgine ſhould make a vowe of chaſtitie, but to ſtande at her libertie to be incloſed, or to be married: for he helde opinion, that women were verie weake to perfourme vowes: and at euery houre, variable of opinion and aduiſe. He made a lawe, that no widowe might marrie within a yeare of her huſbandes death: on the one parte ſufficiently to bewaile the dead, and on the other parte, exactly to conſider of him that ſhoulde marrie her. He made a lawe, that no fleſhe, breade, wine, or any fruite ſhoulde be ſolde in Rome by viewe, but by weight and meaſure: becauſe in ſelling of thinges by weight and meaſure, they are bought according to their value, and not as they are praiſed.

He made a lawe that al taylers in receiuing garments to make, shoulde take the same by weight, to auoyd purloyning of any parte thereof. He made a lawe that no young man vnder the gouernement of father, mother, or tutour, might giue, take, or playe any money: because it were to be presupposed, that such a one, being in no possession of inheritance, had either stolne, or made some euil marte. He made a lawe that all maides, hauing attained the age of xxv. yeares, might marrie, althoughe their parents would not thereunto consent: for he vsed to saye, that good parents haue more care to marrie one daughter, then to breede x. sonnes. He made a lawe, that on holy dayes, and dayes of publique feastes and ioye, they should not openly burie their dead: saying, it were an euil signe vnto the common wealth, if at the time of ioy, others should begin to weepe. He made a lawe, that no Romane should presume to throwe out at doore, any seruaunt, slaue, or horse, or any other beast, were it but a dogg, either for any olde age or sickneste: saying, that for the same purpose, men serue from their youth, to be succoured when they come to age. He made a lawe, that punishment should not be giuen vnto thæues as Iudges cõmaunded, but at the wil of the persons which were robbed: affirming theaft to be so foule a fault, that by the hands of all persons they deserued chastisement. He made a lawe, that no citizen of Rome should presume to drawe, to drowne, to strangle, or hang his slaue for any offence: saying, that to the Gods alone, and to Princes, power is giuen to slaye and kill, and to others onely to punishe. He made a lawe, that if any married woman should committ adulterie with any kinsman or friend of her husband, he might neither chastice, reproue or blame her, if shée proued that her husband had first brought him to ỹ house: affirming: that a woman naturally of her selfe is weake, and beeing moued by any occasion, hath no power to make resistance. He made a lawe, that frely all manner of persons within the walles of Rome, might departe

from

from their wiues, and their wiues from their husbands, after fyre yeares marriage: affirming, that since from yere to yere was a long time to chaunge a garment, it were not much, that from fixe to fixe yeres, there shoulde be chaunge of marriage. He made a lawe, that in all Rome they should haue no shoppe wherin to sell compoũd medicines, but only simples and holesome hearbes, to auoide resemblance of tauernes, wherein they solde newe wines, but in shops only old medicines. He made a lawe, that none should marrie in Rome but with his equal: that is to saye, a merchant with a merchant, a goldsmith wt a goldsmith, a seruaunt with a seruaunt, & a rusticall with a rusticall: for he helde opinion, that men, in making vnequall marriages, do inforce them selues to more then they may, and spend much more then they ought. He made a lawe, that when any house burned in Rome, all the neighbourhood should runne to the healp and succour thereof, vppon the paine of any mans default therein, to contribute to the repairing thereof. Many other lawes were made by Heliogabalus, as Historiographers of him do reporte, of greate indignitie to be written, and no lesse vnshamefacte to be reade.

CHAP. XII.

¶ *How* Heliogabalus was thrice married, and of his marrying of the Gods together.

After that Heliogabalus was come from Asia, he stayed in Rome an whole yeare without marriage: after which time he married with a gentlewoman of Rome, beautifull of face, and noble of bloud: and it well appeared, that he rather married her for beautie, then nobleneſſe: for that a yeare beeing scarcely passed, he was diuorced.

He did not onely remoue her from all honour, but also cast her out of his house, spoyled her of all her Iewels and apparel, and constrained her by spinning and weauing openly to get her liuing. The first wife being repudiate, he grewe enamoured of one of the vestal virgins, whome he remoued out of the churche, and openly espoused: for which fact, the Senate was not a little grieued, & Rome no lesse escandalized: because the vestal virgines, were offered in the temples vnto the Gods, and sworne and vowed to perpetual chastitie. After he vnderstood the griefe of the Senate, and the murmuring of ỹ people, he mounted one day into the Senate, and wished them not to be sorrowfull for his marriage with a vestall virgin, for that if it were an offence, it were but an humaine offence: and being (as he was) a Priest, it apperteined not vnto him to marrie, but with a woman that were a Priest: and if that were not sufficient, yet it sufficed that he was a Prince and an Emperour moste supreme, vnto whose greatnesse it appertained to make lawes, without all obligation to obserue them. Fore then a yere, and lesse then twaine, he was married vnto this vestall virgin: to whome, as to the first, he gaue a libell of diuorce: and the sorrowfull woman came to so greate and miserable pouertie, that if the other did obteine liuing by spinning, this did purchase the same by adulterie: in such wise, that of a consecrated virgin, and of a noble Empresse, shée became a common adultéresse. He married the third time with a widowe, and matrone of Rome, and for better occasion he would oft saye, that shée was descended from the linage of Commodus: and that from thence forth he would not take a wife, but of bloud very high, of beautie singular, and of condition moste discréte. Heliogabalus
" would oft saye, any Prince might escape errour in his
" first marriage: that is to saye, if shée were of base condi-
" tion, to estéeme her of no reputation: if shée were foule,
" to abhorre her: and if shée were foolishe, to kill her.
" Heliogabalus procéeded vnto so greate madnesse, that he

he did not onely deride humaine marriages, but also scoffed at diuine matrimonies: for that he determined openly to marrie his God Heliogabalus, and to celebrate matrimonie with some other Goddesse. The case was thus, that the thing which the Romanes held vnder greatest guarde, reuerence, and veneration, was the Image of the Goddesse Pallas, which was saide to fall from heauen vppon the walles of Troye: this Image Heliogabalus commaunded to be taken out of the churche, where shée remained hidden, and to be transferred vnto his house: and from the day that shée was brought from Troye, was neuer séene with mannes eye vntil that daye. He made a coche of plate ouer gilded, aloft whereon he placed the Goddesse Pallas, apparelled in riche robes, and charged with moste precious iewels: one of the Oxen wherewith the coche was drawen, was white without any spott of blacke: and the other was blacke without any spott of white. Heliogabalus went before with a goad in his hande, guyding the Oxen, and turning his face alwayes towardes the Chariot, in such manner, that still to beholde the Goddesse, he marched backwardes. The Romanes vnderstanding, that Heliogabalus would that day playe the Carter, prouided from the imperiall palace vnto the temple, a broade and a sandie waye, that in his backewarde walke he should not finde whereat to stumble, much lesse to fall. And when they were all come vnto the churche, they take the God Heliogabalus, and the Goddesse Pallas, married them, and ioyned them as man and wife, and made them a right sumptuous bedd in the midst of the temple, where they ioyntly slept all that night. The Romanes receiued no small griefe, to behold Heliogabalus committ such follies: for that presuming (as they presumed) to be so greate worshippers of the Gods, it seemed vnto them that in making such marriages, was to deride the Gods: and it might happen, that what he did but in ieste, they might repaye in earneste.

Nowe, when these Gods were espoused, *He*liogabalus woulde solemnize that marriage with ioyes: for which purpose, he commaunded the Circene playes to be prepared: wherin he commaunded infinite beastes to be slaine, and the flesh of them all, both good & bad, to be eaten of all persons: in suche wise, that there they did eate Lions, Beares, Woolues, Tygers, Unicornes, Dunces, Horses, Asses, Doggs, Beeues, Buffes, & other wilde beastes, Boares excepted, which they vsed not to eate in Phœnicia, where he was bred and nourished. Nowe, when all these feastes were finished, and al playes performed and concluded, Heliogabalus woulde make a shewe of the greatnesse of his minde, and the wealth and riches of his person: and being aduaunced vpon the highest steps or degrees of the church, he threwe amongst the circumstants, a great summe of money, and no lesse riches in iewels: for the scambling and getting wherof, manie were wounded, choked, strangled, and slaine: and the hurte was not so small, but that muche greater was the sorrowe in Rome and all Italie, for the greate numbers whiche there died: then anie pleasure of the money whiche they had gotten.

CHAP. XIII.

How Heliogabalus solde offices, and practised manie vanities.

HEliogabalus did marte and sell all offices of iustice, & of the Senate, as well Censors & Edils, as Pretors and Tribunes, in such wise, that he which gaue most money, although lesse vertuous, did beare greatest office. It was a custome in Rome, to electe no Senatour, excepte he were in linage an auncient Patritian: and of age, at the leaste fiftie yeares: but he made his election (for the most parte) of base persons, as gardeners, potters, and taylers: and other

other young men of the age of xx. yeares. He did not onely sell the offices of the common wealth, but also of the gouernement of his house: as porters, cookes, caters, chamberlains, and auditours: whereof followed, that at times when he would dispatch them for their euill seruice, they would plead, that they had bought it of him for monie.

Heliogabalus being a friend vnto iesters, and greatly delighting in their conuersation, it happened against the celebration of the feast of May, in the euen thereof, xx. carte loades of Roses were brought vnto the Court, which being cast all into one chamber, against the nert dayes feast, hee commaunded those iugglers and iesters to be throwen amongest those Roses, which beeing many, and they ouerwhelmed therein, were all strangled with Roses. He did neuer eate but at tables of siluer, or sit in chaire that was not wrought with siluer, gold, and Unicorne: and all the prouision of pots, skilets, ladels, spits, and all other things of the kitchin, were of siluer, and his cookes in like. Secretely Heliogabalus commaunded an hundreth pitchars of flies to be taken, and being brought to the Court, he feasted certaine Romanes: and being then Summer and time of great heate, and in chiefest of their dinner, he commaunded his hungrie flies to be set at large, who with their libertie gaue an onset vppon the guestes, as vppon a campe of enimies, in such wise, that the guestes gaue themselues to flight, and the flies sate downe to eate.

On the day of the great feast of his God, all the sacred Senate, and whole multitude of people, offering sacrifices in the temple, and all the doores fast shut, soudeinly he caused to be set lose amongest ỹ troups of people, an hundreth cattes, tenne thousand rattes, an hundreth greyhounds, & a thousand hares: where the fighte and slaughter was so great, and the confusion, rumble, and crie of people so extreeme, that it seemed, hee went rather to scorne the Gods, then offer sacrifices.

The chamber where he slept, his Gallerie where he walked, the place where he did eate, & also dispatche affayres,

was alwayes swept, not with broomes of any cõmon matter, but of threeds of gold: which office he gaue vnto one of the chiefest persons of his Court. When he would at any time walke a litle on foote, it was not on hard ground, but
» on sand of gold. Heliogabalus was not satisfied to weare
» shoes of any silke, or veluet, either of clothe of gold, or gold
» wrought with the hãmer: but the soles were of Vnicorne,
» and gold of Nilus: and the instep and vpper part therof set
» with pearle and most rich stones: in such wise, that Helio-
» gabalus shoes were of more value, then the crowne of Iu-
» lius Cæsar, or Augustus. He was much addicted to weare
» rings on his fingers, and sometimes would weare them of
brasse, yron, lead, amber, and of leather: in such wise, that this prince, the more to discouer his madnesse, did weare shoes of gold, and ringes of lether. On a time there came from Alexandria, 10. shippes laden with great and most precious riches: and vnderstanding that they were arrined at the porte of Hostia, secreately he commaunded the mariners to sincke them: whereof beeing reproued in the Senate, hee aunswered: that thereby they had to vnderstand his small couetousnes, for that he spent the riches of the earth, and drowned that which came by Sea. Heliogabalus was prodigall and curious, not onely openly, but also
» in secreate: for that his Urinall was of Vnicorne, and his
» stoole of fine gold. When he chaũced to issue out of Rome,
» he had wt him no lesse then 600. wagons, which were al la-
den, not with chestes, apparel, either any thing necessarie or apperteyning vnto persons of the Courte: but with women, iesters, musicians, hunters, fishers, exquisite wines, and victuals neuer heard off: for that he neuer went forth of Rome to visite countries, or conquere enimies, but to seeke delectable places, the more freely to giue him selfe to vice. A certaine Senatour demaunding why hee vsed such excesse in spending, he made him answere: My friend, I giue thée to vnderstãd, that none doth inherite but after the death of some person: and therefore I will in my life time, make my self mine owne heire.

The

The armies did not a little repent them to haue elected him Emperour, and the Senate no lesse to haue accepted and allowed the same: for that he was so wilfull in all thinges, that he was not onely satisfied to be vitious in all humaine vices: but watched and studied to inuent newe wickednes. Mesia the grandmother of Heliogabalus, whiche procured, or (to say better) bought him the Empire, had sufficiently aduised and also persuaded him to be good and vertuous: but hee was so obstinate in his euill, and so bowed and dedicated vnto vice, that he litle esteemed the counsell of his friends, either the threatenings of his enimies.

When his graundmother Mesia perceiued, that good persuasions would neither profite, either great threatenings pearce him with any feare, shee remembred to fixe her eyes vppon her other nephue named Alexander, that the one being dead, the other might succede: for shee helde it for most certeine, that in fewe dayes, respect being had of his many vices, his Empire should finishe. As Mesia was auncient, prouident, and of experience: so shee persuaded Heliogabalus with such wordes, that he accepted his cousin Alexander as companion of the Empire, which election the Senate approued and allowed with great affection, and no lesse gratefull vnto the whole people: and from thence forth, although they obeyed Heliogabalus, yet they did yeald al their loue vnto his cousin Alexander. Heliogabalus being aduertised by certeine Nekromantike Priestes of Aegypt, that he should haue a death according vnto his life (whereby, he doubted that his life should be short, and his death shamefull:) began to deuise with him selfe, what kinde of death might be giuen him by his enimies: and considered, that either they would cutt his throte, or hang him, or cast him downe frō some rocke, or drowne him, or end his dayes wt some poyson: & thus it was, he filled a ponde full of rose water, wherein to be drowned: at the foote of a Tower of his house, he placed golden sande, to fall on: he made twisted

silk

silke halters wherewith to be hanged: hée commaunded daggers and swordes of gold, wherewith to be slaine: and conserued poyson in Unicorne bores, wherewith to be poysoned: all which he prouided of purpose, that at the time of nœde he might one way or other end his wretched life: for (as he vsed to say) he greatly did not esteeme to die, if with such, and so stately instruments he might be put to death. But the successe happened quite contrarie to the forecastes of Heliogabalus, as well in dying when hee would not, as in the maner of his death, whereof he did not thincke: for it is a thing notorious vnto all men, that we may neither inlarge our life as we desire, either shunne that death whiche we abhorre.

CHAP. XIIII.

¶ Of the shamefull death of the Emperour Heliogabalus.

After that Heliogabalus had accepted his cousen Alexander companion of the Empire, he not a litle repēted him thereof: for that hee clearely perceiued himselfe to bée abhorred, and his cousen greatly beloued: he determinately purposed to depriue Alexander of his honour, as also to deuise a drift to dispatch him of his life. *M*anea, the mother of Alexander, vnderstanding the extreeme hatred of Heliogabalus so furiously bent against her sonne Alexāder, had ouer him great regard, that he should not walke alone by night, accompany suspicious persons, fæde of any meate that were presented, or passe by dangerous places: because she was assured, ỹ to kil him, *H*eliogabalus sought not occasion, but opportunitie.

After that Heliogabalus found the great gard & watch of the mother and grandmother ouer Alexander, he went on a day vnto the Senate, persuading with swéete words, and after commaunding vppon great paines, to take that name Cæsar from Alexander, which they had giuen him: this

this demaunde being heard of the whole Senate, euery man caſte downe his head, and aunſwered not ſo much as one woꝛd. When he ſawe the Senate refuſe his requeſt, he did wꝛite a letter vnto the Pꝛefects, and moſt pꝛincipal of the armies, to giue them to vnderſtand that from thẽceforth they ſhould giue no honour vnto Alexander, much leſſe yæld him ſeruice as vnto Cæſar: but the armies finding it rather to pꝛocæde of his ouermuch malice, then of any fault in Alexander, did not obey his cõmaundements, neither aunſwered his letters.

When hee might not perſuade the Senatours, oꝛ conſtraine the armies, he aduiſed to bꝛibe and coꝛrupt his ſeruaunts and houſehold officers, pꝛomiſing them many and great rewards, if they would temper his meate with ſome poyſon, to rid him of his life. He conferred alſo with the tutours of Alexander, to finde if he might frame them to lead him foꝛth in to ſome Oꝛchard oꝛ gardeine, oꝛ to ſæke ſome deuice to leaue him alone: vnto whome he did not only pꝛomiſe great riches & wealth, but alſo pꝛomotions to great offices. Heliogabalus perceiuing that hee might neither coꝛrupt the one, oꝛ perſuade the other, foꝛ that hee was loued of al men, commaunded his counterfects openly to be ouerthꝛowen and defiled with dyꝛte: whiche was holden amongeſt the Romanes, as great an iniurie, as eꝛacly to take away a mans life.

On that day in which Heliogabalus had commaunded the counterfects of Alexander to be defaced and defiled, he pꝛepared alſo in ſecreate, certaine his friends to kill Alexander, if vpon the chaunce of any mutinie that might happen, hee ſhould come foꝛth: foꝛ he did beare him ſo moꝛtall hatred, that it ſæmed his life to pꝛoſper to none effecte, if he might not ſpoile him of his life. The day befoꝛe this matter grewe to effect, Heliogabalus iſſued out of Rome, to ſolace at a gardeine: and when they began to ouerthꝛowe and traile the pictures of Alexander, the Pꝛetoꝛs of the armies aſſembled with great ſpæde, to ſtay the ſame: by which meane there was raiſed no ſmall ſcandal, in ſo much

much that they did not onely repell that iniurie, but also pursued Heliogabalus vnto his garden to haue slaine him. All Rome being armed, the mother and grandmother of Heliogabalus, departed with great hast vnto the garden, where he was persuading him to take Alexãder in a Licter, and ioyntly to passe through the streats: that after this maner, seing them both friends, the armies might be pacified and dissevered. Heliogabalus being vtterly voide of care of the scandal that passed in Rome, attended rather euery houre with great ioy, ỹ newes of Alexanders death, and the spoile of his pictures. As much as Heliogabalus determined to haue slaine Alexander, so much were the armies purposed to haue killed Heliogabalus: and for the execution thereof, with great furie they marched to seeke him at his garden: vnto whom there came forth to talke, not himselfe, but his grandmother, of whom she obteyned at that time the saftie of his life: which they graunted vpon condition, that hee should correct his person, reforme his house, and visite the common wealthes. On the nexte day, they caste forth and ridd the house of Heliogabalus, of Gabalus, Herodes, Gordius, and Murius, which were his fauoured seruauntes, and companions of his vices: and those in deede, that from a fole, conuerted him into an idiot. A moneth after these things had passed, and the tumult pacified, in the Calends of Ianus, which is the beginning of Ianuarie, Heliogabalus refused to go vnto the Senate, either to send Alexander his substitute: whereof the Senatours found themselues greatly iniuried, & remayned thereof very suspicious.

And being as then very late at night, when the Senatours came from the Senate, they there presently at the gates thereof, receiued commaundement from Heliogabalus, that without all delay vppon paine of their liues, they should depart out of the citie of Rome, without visitation either of house or friend: and as there were of them both sicke and old, so it was lamentable to behold them wander in the darcke, stumbling in those fieldes, and so bitter-

bitterly weping. The Consuls and Senatours being ba-
nished, there remayned in Rome a certaine auncient Con-
sul named Sabinus, a man excellently learned, vnto whom
Vlpianus did dedicate his bookes, and of whome the Ro-
manes receiued counsell, in all their graue affaires. This
Sabinus, by reason of his great age, came not out of his
house: and Heliogabalus thincking hee had no other eni-
mie remayning in all Rome, called a Centurion, and
said in his eare, that hee should go vnto Sabinus house and
cut off his head: and as it chaunced, the Centurion being
deafe, and not vnderstanding the commaundement to
haue him slaine, but banished as the othe Senatours, by
defence of the Centurion, Sabinus escaped with his life.

The Pretorians and men of warre being aduertised,
that Heliogabalus had banished the Consuls and Sena-
tours, and also commaunded the good old Sabinus to bee
slaine, strangled Siluius, tutour vnto Alexander, and re-
moued Vlpianus from his Censorship: with furious rage
wente vnto the Courte, and breaking the gates they slue
Heliogabalus, and his mother that bare him: and they
killed, not onely all his seruauntes, but also his cattes and
dogges, his Parratts, horses, peacockes, and monkies: in
such wise, that in all his house they lefte nothinge aliue.

When Heliogabalus vnderstode the breaking vp of his
gates, and the slaughter of his household, thincking to saue
his person, hid himselfe in a priuie vp to the chinne, where
they discharged him of his head: in such wise, that confor-
mable to his filthie life, hee receiued a nastie death. Al-
though Heliogabalus and his mother were ioyntly slaine,
yet most truly she discouered a more noble minde: for that
shee died in her chamber as a Ladie, and hee most cowardly
in a priuie. Heliogabalus and his mother being dead,
they toke their naked & mangled bodies, and trailed them
in the dirte alongest the streates vnto Tiber, in the depth
whereof they were cast to be eaten of fishe, and not to bee
sought or found of men.

Many Princes, his predecessours, & successours were very

euill,

euil, wicked of life, and pernicious vnto the cõmon wealth: but amongest all, Heliogabalus alone was hee, in whome was found no good worke: so he alone wanted a Sepulchre. By this Prince, all princes ought to take example, to flie wilfulnesse, and the hatred of their people: because a detested life remoueth all merite of honourable buriall.

The Romanes not satisfied to haue slaine, drawen, and drowned Heliogabalus, ouerthrew and whirled stones at his counterfects that were placed in the Capitol, & scrapte out his name in all places where it was written: and the more to discouer their hatred, they did not onely kil all his seruauntes and friends, but burned all his apparell and iewels: in such wise, that of him remayned no other memorie in Rome, but the report of his name, whereat they did spet on the ground.

Heliogabalus reigned 6. yeares, 3. monethes, and tenne dayes: he liued 32. yeares, 4. monethes, and fiue dayes: wherof 26. yeares he was a young man, very vertuous, & a priest withdrawen and also solitarie: the other 6. yeares hee was an Emperour more absolute and vicious, then euer reigned in the Romane Empire: for that the vices which were scattered in other persons, were found ioyntly in his possession.

(.˙.)

The life

The life of the good Emperour Alexãder Seuerus, ſonne of the good matrone Manea, compiled by Syr Anthonie of Gueuara, biſhop of Mondonnedo, preacher, chronicler and counſellour, vnto the Emperour Charles the fifte.

CHAP. I.

¶ Of the nouriture and naturall countrie of the Emperour Alexander Seuerus.

AVRELIVS Alexander was naturally an Aſſyrian borne, his father was named Varius, and his mother Manea: hée was couſen germane vnto the emperour Heliogabalus, for their mothers were ſiſters: and although he were borne in Aſſyria, yet he was bred and nouriſhed in Rome: for that in thoſe dayes his grandmother, the great matrone Meſia, gouerned Seuerus & his houſehold, and alſo the whole common wealth. Alexander was tall of body, of blacke curled haire, ſallow & leane faced, with great eyes, a thicke ſhort necke, his hands drie, and of bigge ſinewes, ſlender legged, high of inſtep, and his complexion ſomewhat cholerike, but much flegmatike, which afterwards he diſcouered in the courſe of his life: becauſe he was mild of conuerſation, and in gouernement pitiful. Alexander was borne in the citie of Arſena, Septimus Seuerus being Emperour: hee was nouriſhed the firſt foure yeares in Aſſyria, & then brought vnto Rome, vnder the gouernement of his grandmother, where after ſhe had kept him with her, other three yeares in Rome, ſhe returned him into Aſſyria: partly to auoyde the idle nouriture of the Court, and alſo for that Baſſianus ſhould not murther him. The preſages of his Empire

were these: it was found most truly, that on the day that
" Alexander *Magnus* died, this Alexander Aurelius was
" borne: & at the time of child birth his mother came to visite
" the Sepulchre of Alexander, where she fell in trauell and
" brought forth this sonne, who was named Alexander, his
" nourse being called Olympia, and his tutour Philip: which
" were the two names of the father & mother of Alexander
" Magnus. The selfe same day that Alexander was borne,
" there came an old woman to her house, and offered vnto ỹ
" mother a red egge, which a flock doue had layd at ỹ houre:
" aduouching that red egge to signifie no other matter, but ỹ
" the same child should be Emperour. Manea the mother of this prince, was a woman very wise, prudent, aduised, and no lesse faire: and the speciall cause why shee deserued so greatly to be estéemed and honoured, was: because no Romane woman did excéede her in honestie of person, either was equal vnto her in kéeping her house. As this matrone *Manea* naturally was vertuous, and inclined vnto good, so she had great solicitude to nourishe & instruct her sonne Alexander in good maners, and to learne good and profitable sciences: and to the end he should not forget, in the companie of other ponge men, what he had learned of his maisters and tutors, she set great watch, that none were permitted, either to talke, confer, or to be conuersant with him, ỹ were not wise & learned. After that Alexander was able to goe, his mother taught him to be temperate in diet, neat in his apparel, repsed in his pace, and reformed in his speach. He held so great measure in all thinges apperteyning to good maners, sinceritie in vertues, and cleanneſſe from all vice, (which that age alwayes doth yeld) ỹ all men (vnto whom he was knowen) said, that it was as much to see Alexãder in time of his youth, as Tullius when he was an old man. It was not to be found all the time hee was gouerned by his mother, that any one day hee did passe without learning or exercise, either in letters or cheualrie: wherof they both deserued perpetuall praise, which is to witt, the mother in her cõmaundements, & the sonne for his obedience.

Many

Many ſonns would proue good, if their fathers had knowledge to giue them inſtructions: neither would ſo many proue euil, if they did yeeld obedience vnto their parents: to whiche purpoſe the diuine Plato ſaid in his bookes of common wealth, that that familie was happie & bleſſed, where the parents were prudent, & the children obedient. Manea vſed moſt ſpecial vigilancie in the gard of her ſonne, not onely from all vſual vices, but alſo vicious perſons: for that many times, good inclinations are corrupted by vicious conuerſation. In his infancie, his ſcholemaſters were Valerius, Gordius, & Viturius: this Viturius was he that afterwards was moſt eſtæmed in his houſe, and wrote the diſcourſe of his life, which hiſtorie was loſt when the Gothes entered Rome. His maiſter for Grãmar, was Nebon the Grecian: in Philoſophie, Eſtelion the firſt: and in Rhetorike, Serapio the vertuous: & afterwards when he came to Rome, he had for his maiſters, Eſcarius, Julius, and Macrinus: graue perſons to inſtruct, & learned to teach. Aboue all other Romane princes, Alexander was a friend of wiſe men, for whom he made diligent ſearch, & enriched them if they were poore, honoured, enterteined, & gaue them credit when they counſelled him: finally, a wiſe mã of him neuer receiued an ill anſwere, or foũd in his houſe any doore ſhut againſt him. Being demaunded, why he did ſo generally delight in the wiſe & learned, he anſwered: I loue them for that which they know, & honour them for that which they may: for in time to come, vnder their hiſtories which they ſhall write, our fame ſhal ſhine and flouriſh. Alexander, in the dayes of his youth, was deadly hated of his couſen Heliogabalus: & this procæded, not of the ſharpe condition of Alexander, but for the euil nature of Heliogabalus, that is to ſay, for that he would not conſent to be a cõpanion in his wickednes, as by birth he was his kinſeman. There were neuer ſeene, two princes ſo conioyned in parentage, ſo nere in ſucceſſion, & ſo different in liues, as Heliogabalus, & Alexander: for ỹ in Heliogabalus there was not one vertue to be praiſed, either in Alexander one vice to be reprehended.

CHAP. II.

¶ Howe Alexander was aduaunced vnto the Empire, and of his laudable manners.

TWo yeares before the Prætorians killed Heliogabalus the Emperour, Alexander was elected Augustus, to ỹ great grace, liking, and conformitie of al the Romane people: whereof procéded, that on the day in which they had slaine the vnworthie Heliogabalus, they gaue vnto Alexander the ensignes of the empire. When Alexander began to reigne, he was very younge: wherfore, Mesia the grandmother, and Manea the mother, did take the charge of gouernement of the empire: who although in condition they were womẽ, yet most truly in gouernement they discouered themselues to be men. They elected xy. persons to assist them in the affaires of the Empire, which were chosen amongest the auncient, the most experte: & amongst ỹ learned, the most wise: & without determination & iudgment of all these, they did neither heare what was demaunded, either determined any matter that they had to doe. The first déde of Alexander, & his grandmother Mesia, his mother Manea, & his xii. counsellours, was, to take order for reformation of temples: namely, to repaire the decaide, to clense the defiled, inrich such as were robbed, and to populate such as were disinhabited: because in the dayes of his predecessour Heliogabalus, not only humaine matters went to wracke, but the gods also were prophaned. Diuine matters being reformed, presently they toke order for cõseruation of the cõmon wealth: & before all things, all vicious persons were resolued from their offices: and not satisfied to punish their offences, with depriuation of their offices, he forced them to make restitution of whatsoeuer they had either bribed, or purloyned, & from thencefoorth to liue of their owne proper sweate. Matters of iustice were not handled, but of men very well learned: Martiall affaires were not commended, but vnto men of great experience:

causes

causes of the common wealth were not manured, but of persons skilfull therein: in such wise, that they prouided, not offices for men, but men for offices.

Also Alexander reformed the whole condition & estate of his house, as well the ministers, as the expences thereof: which all the dayes of *Heliogabalus* excæded in disorder, & was no lesse defiled with vice: for which cause he set a seazment of the charges thereof, and elected faithful officers to spend the same: in such wise, that in the house of Alexander, there was neither immoderate expences, either men wanting offices. Although order was taken for the ordinarie expences of his house, yet notwithstanding, his household had all things in abundance, conuenient vnto his imperial magnificence: and many strangers that came from farre, praised Alexander, because they might not accuse him of prodigalitie, either note him of auarice. The temples, the common wealth, and his house being ordered, the good prince forgat not to reforme his owne person: not only for the maner of consuming of time, but also for ỹ order and maner of his apparel: for that he vsed to say, if the monie which princes spend in robes superfluous, & the time which they cõsume in apparelling & decking themselues, were spent to the profite of their common wealthes, they should obteine more fauour of the gods, & lesse hatred of men. Alexander was so humble in condition, ỹ publikely he cõmaunded, none should call him, Lord, either by word or writing: but, the priests should call him, brother: the Senatours, sonne: men at armes, companion: and common persons, friend: and this he did, for that he held the gods in so great reuerence, that he would they only should be called Lords. On the superscriptiõs of letters brought him by Embassadours, or sent him from any prouince, they wrote theron exquisite and stately titles: wherin he prouided, no other superscription to be added, but this: Vnto our sonne, our Brother, our Companion or Friend, Aurelius Alexãder Romane Emperour. Heliogabalus his predecessour, did commonly weare precious stones on his feete, and most costly

costly iewels of gold and Vnicorne in his apparel: whiche thinges Alexander neuer vsed, either delighted to weare: for as he was wont to say, princes are not to be knowen of their vassals, by their rich robes, but by their good works performed in their common wealthes. He was apparelled most cõmonly, in white: in winter, with a certaine kind of blãket of Britaine, and in summer, with a certaine maner of cotton that was brought him from Asia. Some times he would make him garments of cotton & linnen wouen together: oftentimes saying, that he much delighted therein, for that it was very cheape to be bought, light to weare, & might best be washed in summer. He would many times walke in Rome with a friend or twaine, holding his hands behind: and finding himselfe wearie, would enter into the first neighbours house, and sit downe vppon a banke of earth, & some times would there fall a sléepe: in such maner, that he had so great familiaritie with all men, as if he had bëene one of them. He was mild, pitiful, patiẽt, silent, in all things of great continencie, & was neuer sëene extrëemely distẽpered, or at any time to vse furious words wt any person: for which cause, no maner of person did wish him euil for his euil dœds, but of a cancred and corrupt nature wherewith he was defiled.

CHAP. III.

¶ How Alexander being inuested with the Empire, presently did visite and reforme his common wealth.

IN the second yeare of ỹ Empire of Alexander, his grandmother the great and renowmed matrone Mesia died: in whose death he & the Romane people also discouered great sorrow, bestowing vppon her coarse, so honourable a funeral, and such solemne obsequies, as appertained to one that had bëene cousen vnto the Emperour Seuerus, and had for nephues the Emperour Heliogabalus, and Alexander. Mesia being dead, the burden of gouernement was layed vppon

vpon Manea, mother vnto Alexander: whome al men conceiued to be in full possession of chastitie, temperance, prudence, and patience, but not withstanding somewhat inclined to auarice: whereof proceeded, these words earely in ỹ morning to be written vppon the gates: if Manea had not charge of monie in the cõmon wealth, such a Romane had neuer bene borne in Rome. Long time passed in which the Senate had not bene visited: which Alexander forgat not, as wel to visite, as also to reforme: not only by inquisition how they liued and gouerned the common wealth, but also how they ordered their houses & ruled their families: for he vsed oft to say, that the man which knewe not to gouerne his wife, to prouide for his house, and direct his familie, the prince might not cõmit a greater follie, then to place such a one in the gouernment of the cõmon wealth. In Rome they were named *Milites veterani*, that long time had serued in warres, and were withdrawen vnto their houses: these were mainteyned at the charges of the common wealth, and priuileged for apparance before a Iudge: and as Alexander was infourmed of their licentious and vicious liues, he commaunded them to be banished Rome, and no more to be mainteyned by the common wealth. When he signed the sentence of their exile, with his owne hands, he added these words: It is as iust that the vicious and wicked, frõ a free man, be conuerted to a slaue: as the vertuous from a bond man, to be made free: for where there is corruption of manners, liberties haue no place: Most truely these wordes were spoken, as of a prince right worthie veneration. Also he visited the officers of the common treasurie, as if we should say, the Auditors and others that had charge of the goods of the kingdome: amongest whome hée found many bribers, and nedeleste officers: those hé commaunded to be punished, and these to be disfranchised. Alexander was greatly affectionate vnto the affayres of the common wealth: with which zeale he vsed so great diligence, that the goodes of the common wealthe were recouered & gotten againe from the handes of robbers, and

spent and imployed in matters profitable: for it was his opinion, ỹ Good princes ought not to consent, that vagabounds should liue of the entrails of the people. He wrote vnto all prouinces, that in all ciuil causes, Iudges should procéde according to the order and right therof, théues & matters of felonie excepted: who within thrée dayes after their apprehension, should either be punished, executed, made slaues for the seruice of men, or condemned to cõmon works for publique profite, and for no cause to let them escape: for as he oft said, Neuer mã which had made a proofe in the knowledge of theste, vntill his death, might at any time depart from so foule a vice. He also visited the officers, that had the charge of pay for the men of warre: against whome he receiued accusations for payment of euil monie, imbezeling of payes, reckoning the dead with the liuing, and valuing their victuals more then they were worthe: whome Alexander commaunded openly to be whipt, and for euermore to be banished. He established by publique edicte, that whosoeuer should aduenture from thencefworth to steale, or imbezill any paiment due for matters of warre, should, for the same, lose his life. All thinges which he had to commaunde, or prouide in the common wealth, hée did first communicate with such persons as hee thought to haue knowledge and experience thereof: and his manner was to say, that in following his owne proper iudgment, he had neuer but tedious successe: but by repayring vnto other mens aduise, hee alwayes gathered some fruite.

Hé held in his house many, and very notable persons, of whome alwayes hé was accompanied: but amongest al whome he best loued, and did most commend his secrétes, was Vlpianus; this Vlpianus, besides his great learning, was a man so vertuous, that Alexander would oft say, hé had rather aduenture the committing of some odious déde before the Gods, then speake a foule worde in presence of Vlpianus.

His predecessour Heliogabalus, had ordeyned many lawes

lawes in the fauour of the fiscall, to the greate preiudice of the people: for, admitting that goods were augmented: yet on the other parte, the common wealth daily diminished: for which cause Alexander commaunded, that all those lawes should be reuiewed, considered, and reformed: for, as he vsed to saye, it were more commodious for the Prince which is no tyrant, that his cōmon wealth be riche, and his house poore: then the common wealth to be poore, and his house riche. When he beganne to reigne, the people were abandoned to dissolute manners: for which cause he made some rigorous lawes, and other milde and pittifull: but, when he commaunded them to be proclaimed openly, he gaue aduertisement vnto his ministers, to execute them in secrete. Consider not so much what I commaund you, as the intent wherewith I commaund you, which is to weete, that rigorous lawes are not, but to terrifie: but lawes which are pitifull, to be executed, becausc we make not lawes, to take away mennes liues, but to roote and weede vices out of our common wealthes.

When the Senatours did sitt in graue affaires, he was not contented that they should saye their opinions by worde, but by writing: neither was he yet satisfyed that they should set it down in writing, but adde also therunto ỳ reasons which moued them to ỳ their opinion: saying, he did it to this ende, that none should aduenture to yeld his opinion, either forced with affection, or corrupted with passion: but as reason and vertue should direct him. Naturally, he was an enimie vnto lyes and lyers: and if any man presumed to lye in his presence, he receiued thereof as great despight, as though he had done him an iniurie. He woulde oft saye, that good Princes haue to esteeme such for greater enimies, that deceiue them with flattering and lyes, then such as do intrude vppon their countries: for the one taketh not but of his goods, but the other robbeth him of his fame. At all times, when they had talk of the election of any Senatour or Iudge, he was

alwayes heard to speake these words in the Senate: If, as nowe being present with men, *I* were in presence of the Gods, I would craue their opinions in the electiō of Senatours and Iudges: for that the choice of gouernours in a common wealth, doth more seeme diuine, then humaine election.

CHAP. IIII.

¶Of the milde conditions of Alexander, and of his gratefull conuersation.

ALexander was friendly vnto his seruaunts, whome he would visite indifferently in their sickenesse: that is to wete, as well the meaner, as the more fauoured: and in repayment of such his visitation, he woulde request them to giue him aduertisement what was saide of him in the common wealth: and if they saide vnto him any thinge more worthie amendement, then praise, he gaue them as greate thankes for that aduise, as at another time he vsed to giue for any greate and notable seruice. The Consul Vncoiasson, on a certeine time in great secrete, saide vnto Alexander: *I* am not a little astonnied at thee, (moste serene Prince) that doest permitt thy selfe to bee gouerned of thy graundmother Mesia, thy mother Manea, and thy wife Meania: who haue framed thy conditions so milde, that thereby thou doest impaire the estimation, both of thy person, and also of thine Empire: for that a base and ouerfamiliar condition, leadeth vnto cōtempt.

Vnto this Alexander aunswered: I owe reuerence vnto my graundemother, because shee nourished mee: vnto my mother, for that shee bred mee: & vnto my wife good companie, for as much as she hath married with mee: and since

since it is thus, with reason I ought of no man to be euill iudged, for that I do no more but duetie.

From the daye that he was elected Emperour, vntill he was placed in his Sepulchre, there passed no day wherin he did not some notable dæde worthie to be marked, and no lesse to be followed: which is to saye, hearing causes in Iustice, visiting temples, being resident in the Senate, repayring walles, pardoning offences, doing good vnto the poore, and dispatching such other affaires. Hee was bountifull to Ambassadours and straungers, and no lesse reformed in his ordinarie expences: aboue the rest, he helde narrowe and straight reckoning, and was well aduised with the officers of his common treasurie, alwayes to haue in possession treasure in store. Hée saide manie times, that the poore and needie Prince might neither be serued affectionately of his subiectes, or with armes resist his enimies.

Vnto such as were sound, & strong to trauell, and yet wanted money to mainteine a trade, hee commaunded them to be succoured with the goods of the common treasurie: vppon condition, to repaye the same in processe of time, with the fruites and profites of his trade: by which meane he discharged his Empire, not onely of many poore persons, but also of thæues and vagabondes. All persons that receiued either wages or stypende, he had registred in a booke: wherein was written their age, linage, and seruice which they had done him, vsing when he was alone, to read in that booke: in such wise, he did so speake, name, and had notice of all persons, as if they had bæne but one man.

The common store house for wheate, and oyle, founded and furnished by Seuerus, Heliogabalus had bothe wasted and destroyed: in such wise, that there remayned nothing in store: this storehouse Alexander reedified, endued, and also prouided with exceeding greate aboundaunce of wheate and oyle: so that in his dayes, wheate and oyle did flowe and abound as water.

The

The Iewes that were in Italie, of all men were euill handeled, and the Christians no lesse persecuted and banished: nowe, when bothe the one and the other made complaint, Alexander commaunded them to liue within their lawes: vppon such condition, as they performed their ceremonies in secrete. He did much honour the Presidents of prouinces, and when he traueiled vpon the way, they onely were placed with him in his Coche or licter: which he did, to the ende that all men might beholde howe much he honoured the ministers of Iustice, as also to be informed of the state of the common wealth of that countrie: for that naturally, he was so greate a friend, in that which touched the common wealth, that he did not onely take pleasure to prouide and talke thereof, but also held it for a vice, to be forgetfull of the same. Hee vsed vnto no kinde of people so great liberalitie, as vnto Iudges, Tribunes, and Pretors, which had charge, and were sincere in ministring Iustice: and aduouched vnto the Senate, that a Prince with reason ought not to bee intituled a Prince, vnlesse he were carefull for the execution of Iustice: and if he finde any that is iust in the administration thereof, such a one iustly may not be recompenced: for which cause, I giue them more then any other persons which serue me, that by their enrichement, all occasions to make other men poore, from them may be remoued.
In the behalfe of the common wealth he was aduertised, that beefe and bacon was exceeding deere in Rome: in respect whereof he straitely charged and commaunded, that no person should aduenture to kill either calfe or suckinge pig, by the space of two yeres: whereof it came to passe, within the space aforesaide, that a pounde of flesh, which was solde for eight, was worth but twaine. Of men ỹ seemed graue, prudent, and sincere, he woulde alwayes be informed & receiue aduise, for prouision of all graue and doubtfull cases, and yet would neuer communicate or commende his trust to any speciall persons: for he vsed to saye, that when the people do vnderstand, that the prince

is counselled or directed by any one person, such a one, with giftes and requestes may easily be corrupted.

Alexander had a seruaunt named Belon, who promised a gentleman to dispatch a certeine matter of great importance with Alexander, that touched him not a little, giuing to vnderstande, that he was verie priuate with the Prince: and in remuneration of his promised trauell, hee receiued of that gentleman a greate summe of money: whereof Alexander being aduertised, and that which hee promised to obteine, to be a matter most vniust, & no smal offence vnto the common wealth, he commaunded him to be crucified: affirming, that none should dare to aduenture to sell the fauour of the Prince, to the preiudice of the common people. He would many times assemble the chiefest of the people, and warne them to be vertuous, noble minded, and pitifull vnto the common sorte: aduertising them, that assuredly he would deale with the vertuous, as with sonnes, and with the wicked, as with enimies.

Three times hee gaue vnto the Romane people, greate quantities of wheate, in time of greate dearth. Also, at other times he gaue, of his grace, vnto the auncient horsemen, great summes of money: vnderstandinge the greatest parte of them to be in debt. There were in Rome many persones that liued not, but by vsurie, by which meane much goods were lost, and many houses become tributarie: wherein Alexander commaunded exceeding diligence to be vsed in the reuiewe of such contracts, and a memoriall of the moste notable griefes to be giuen him: which when he had considered, he punished the vsurers, and gaue libertie vnto the poore men that were oppressed.

The manner of his dispatche in affaires, was, to be patient in hearing, mylde in answering, skilfull in conceiuing, and pittifull in denying: in such wise, that if he gaue not that which they demaunded, at the least he gaue them comfort with his woordes. After he came from the

Senate

Senate, and had dispatched the affaires of suters, he did alwayes passe the time in reading Græke rather then Latine: amongest all other thinges which he vsed to reade, was Plato his comon wealth, Cicero his offices, Horace, and Quintus Curtius, with the life of Alexander: whom (his vices excepted) he diligently did imitate. If he sawe any of his officers, that for age, or impotencie, might not serue: he did either call him or visite him, giuing him many thankes for the seruice which he had done him: and would request him to take it in good parte, to receiue his whole stipend, with ease and rest in his owne house: and to place some other in that office, mæte for his seruice. Usually he did eate twise a daye, and in his fæding more cleanly and curious, then costly and sumptuous: and neuer was offended with his officers, for the lacke of many, or exquisite meates: but for want of cleanlinesse, and good seasoning.

Many persons wandring in Rome, and vagarant throughout all Italie, vyle as castawayes, who disdaining to learne some occupation after they were so charged by commaundement: hee gaue licence vnto all men, without further authoritie, to take them for their slaues: which if they renounced, then frælye to kill them. He did permitt none of his seruauntes to weare any silke, clothe of golde, or siluer: for that he oft vsed to saye, that open excesse of apparel, and secrete vice, were the destruction of Courtiers. Also he often aduouched, the condition of a good Prince was, more to be recreated with hearing wise men talke, then in tasting delicate meates. Alexander had
» in his house a certeine person named Veturius Turinus,
» whome he loued: against him going and comming to
» his chamber, no dore was shutt: this fellowe was both
» guylefull and lying, and made all men, that were suters
» vnto Alexander, beleeue that he had more conference with
» him, then with any person of the Empire.
» The case was thus, that Alexander being aduertised
» of his vanitie and lewdnesse, and howe he deceiued, and

was

was bribed of many, caused a Fosser to request Turinus to dispatche a certeine suite with Alexander: who comming and going daily into the Princes chamber, alwayes aduertised the suter: thus, and so I haue saide in thy matter, and thus and so was I aunswered of Alexander; the good Prince had true intelligence what Turinus vsed to saye, and of the bribes which he had receiued: whervpon presently he prouided that Turinus was taken, and in his presence by witnesse conuinced of the guyle and deceite which he had committed, of his huge promises also, and howe muche he had robbed: which inquisition exactly made, he commaunded him to be fired aloft vppon a stake openly in Rome, and vnder him was set græne woode and wette strawe, which being set on fire, did yelde vnto his nose a moste cruell smoke, which was not so little, but that in shorte space it deliuered the miserable caytise of his life: a cryer with a loude voice makinge proclamation, *Fumo punitur qui fumum vendidit*: which is to saye: He that solde smoke, is smooldered in smoke. In all famous cities, he caused storehouses to be made, onely seruing for safe kæping of the goodes and riches of such neighbours as doubted robbing.

He made in Rome newe principall strætes, wherein he buylt stately and delightsome houses, which he gaue in rewarde vnto his friendes and seruauntes that were wise and vertuous.

Garmentes of pure silcke he was neuer knowen, either to buy or weare: and if by chaunce any were giuen or presented vnto him, he bestowed them vpon the priests of the Temples, to be apparelled when they shoulde offer sacrifices. He was neither enuious, or couetous of other mennes goods: and in this case he vsed to saye, that the couetous Prince doth finishe and conclude in tyrannie.

Naturally he had compassion of the poore, but moste chiefely of the nædie shamefaste man: that is to saye, that in former times had bæn in honour, & afterwards fell into

into extreme pouertie: for he vsed to saye: there is no kind of mishappe so vnfortunate, as for a man to call to remēbrance that in times past he had beene fortunate. All that he did take and confiscate of malefactours, he commaunded to be giuen vnto shamefaste poore men: with an inquisition before hande, howe he fell into such pouertie: whether by vicious aduersitie, or by some other casualtie: for he helde opinion, that to make him riche, which by vice was made poore, were a cruell deede.

CHAP. V.

¶Of his zeale of iustice and other commendable actes, as well touching his person, as his common wealth.

ALl the dayes of his Empire, he enterteined but one Physician, vnto whom, or any other, he did not at any time yelde his pulse, either of any Physician toke counsell: and to him would oft saye in iest, thinke not that I giue thée to eate, to cure mée: but to the ende thou shalt not cure mée. He neither delighted in Physicke, or that Physicians should remaine in Rome: and for defence of his opinion he vsed to saye, that as greate infirmities doe not happen but by great excesse: so it argueth that the Prince which is compassed with Physicians, goeth charged with many vices. Presidents of prouinces, when he sent them to be resident in their circuites, he did not onely instruct what they ought to doe, but also prouided them for all necessities: and at their returne, if they had done well, he relieued their necessities with his great liberalitie: but if they had done euil, he distressed them both of goods and fame. Praetors, Censors, and presidentes that had charge of iustice, if they had no wiues, he compelled to take concubines into their houses, to the ende they

should

shoulde not followe other mennes wiues: for he helde opinion, that it were not agreeable vnto Iustice, or according vnto the honour of Rome, that the Iudges for adulterie, shoulde be accused of adulterie. Vnto CHRIST he would haue made a temple in Rome, and placed him in the number of their Gods, which also was said of the Emperour Adrian: but the priestes of the temples disuaded him, saying: that they had receiued aunswer of the oracle that if he should perfourme that acte, all other temples should perishe, and all persons would conuert themselues and become Christians. Alexander in Iestes, was gracious: in fables, inuentiue: in bankets, a companion: in gathering of golde, skilfull: in conseruing, aduised: in searching of mines, diligent: in giuing, liberall: and in speculation of newe deuices, exceeding carefull. In earnest or in iest, in worde or in writing, he would not be called, but Romane: for which purpose, he made sundry diligent searches of his genealogie, wherby he gaue demonstration of his descent from the Fabioes Metelloes, which were noble and auncient Romanes. Hee brought vnto Rome great learned men, to reade all Sciences: to which effect he erected many colledges and studies, and indued them with greate rents, where the sonnes onely of poore men were receiued and taught. Gouernours of Prouinces he punished moste grieuously, for their offence in Iustice: especially, if they were noted, or rather accused, of bryberie: but if by malice they were wrongfully accused, the accuser receiued the chastisement of the accused. This good Prince was pittifull vnto all offendours, except thæues, and false witnesses: against whome he vsed extreme iustice: and respecting the offence to redound, not so much vnto him selfe, as vnto others, he affirmed: that ỹ Prince ought not to giue them pardon. Hee had alwayes in his chamber a booke wherein were written all notable seruices which had bæne done vnto him: he also entred into the same, all greate rewardes that he had giuen: and if any man happened to do him some notable seruice, and

craued no recompence in consideration thereof: he woulde
" call him and saye these, or such like wordes: What is the
" matter that thou demaundest nothing of mée? perchaunce
" thou wouldest haue mée thy debtour for thy seruice, since
" thou séekest not the recompence of thy trauell. Séemeth it
" well vnto thée, that thou shouldest obteine the fame of a
" faithfull seruaunt, and by thy meane I should purchase
" the renoune of an ingrate prince? Howe shall others re-
" ceiue courage to serue mee, when they sée thee vnrecom-
" penced for seruice past? knowest thou not, that if it bée
" iuste, that seruants for treason comitted, be put to death:
" is it not also most iust, that Princes for their ingratitude
" be abhorred? presupposing that thou wouldst serue mée,
" without respect to profite thy selfe, of my magnificence:
" wherein I giue thée to vnderstande, I finde my selfe more
" offended then serued: for at all times when they shall
" praise thée for that which thou hast done for mée, they shall
" despise mée, not onely for ingratitude, but rather for ha-
" tred which I shall seeme to beare vnto thée. And if thou
" ceasest to craue, in thinking mée to be in necessitie, and
" not able to accomplish with all persons, moste vaine is
" thy iudgement: for that the Prince, hauing no other
" meane to paye, is so muche bound to recompence seruice,
" that he hath to redéeme it, euen from his ordinarie diet.
" Conformable vnto thine estate, demaunde what thou
" wilt: for since thou beeing a seruaunt, hadst a minde to
" serue: it is iust, that I beeing a Prince, shoulde haue re-
" wardes to giue thée.

These, and such other wordes Alexander vsed to say, vnto such as were mindfull to serue him: and forgettfull to craue of him. Those that serued him, and others that craued of him, he did neuer recompence with the reward of any office of iustice: but such as had serued him, he recompenced their seruice, with houses, Iewels, inheritances, or money.

For any importunitie which they should vse with him, any seruice which they should do him, any Iewels which they

they should present him, or any fauour which they had of him, he gaue not at any time, vnto any person, any office for gouernement of iustice: if he had not seene abilitie in his person, and merite in his life. Euery seuentéene dayes, he payed his men of warre: and when they departed out of Italie, to conquere any countrey, he did ease them with beastes whereon to ride, and succoured them with money to spende, for maintenaunce of their horsses of seruice in courage, and their persons from wearinesse. When he trauelled vppon the way, he payde for the lodging of all his traine, & did beare the charges of all sicke persons.

Certeine Christians, and certeine tauerners came before him to plead for a parcell of ground, where the Christians would haue erected an house of prayer, there to worship Christ their God: and on the other side, the tauerners alledged their great necessitie of that situation, for tauernes for the people: in which matter Alexander gaue this sentence. Diuine thinges ought alwayes to haue preferment before humaine matters: wherefore, I saye and commaunde, that the Christians make their house for Christe their God: for, admitting their God is vnto vs vnknowen, yet his honour is to be preferred before the profite of tauerners.

CHAP. VI.

¶Howe warre was offered in Asia vnto Alexander, and what was saide vnto his Ambassadours.

IN the eleuenth yere after the beginning of the Empire of Alexander, soudeinly he receiued letters from Asia,

wherein he was giuen to vnderstande by his Romane officers, that there were resident, how Artaxerxes king of the Persians had subdued, and also slaine Arthabanus king of the Parthians: and not contented with that victorie, beganne also to occupie and possesse Assyria and Mesopotamia, prouinces subiect vnto Rome. Vppon which newes, Alexander seemed to receiue some trouble of minde, partely to haue warres in Asia, which alwayes was vnto the Romanes both daungerous and costely: and partely, for that in tenne yeares past, he had séene no enimie against him in armour: as also, for that the successe of warres consisteth not in leading greate armies, but in the fauourable prouision of the destinies.

Alexander, from his infancie, had béene bredde in peace, had gouerned the Empire in peace, and naturally also was inclined vnto peace: in respect whereof, it was no marueile thoughe he were annoyed with warres: for that the trouble and disquietnesse which warre bringeth with it, is more conuenient vnto cruell and vnquiet persons, then for men of reposed mindes.

Hée commaunded his priuate seruauntes deputed for his counsel, to ioyne with the Senate, ioyntly to reade the letters that were written to him out of Asia, and to determine howe they should be aunswered: for, as negligence is hurtfull in all graue affaires, so in the warres it slayeth. The letters being read, although they were therein of sundry iudgements, yet in the ende they resumed, that before they made Artaxerxes warre, they shuld request with peace: for, admitting that at that present he destroyed the Romane territories, yet were it not agréeable vnto the greateneſse and sincerities of Rome, to take warre in hande, before that such warre were very well iustified. With greate breuitie Alexander dispatched Ambassadours into Asia, and by them did write vnto Artaxerxes king of the Persians a letter, after this manner.

Alexander

Emperour, to Axtaxerxes king of
Perſians, health & peace,
in the pacified
Gods.

Wee ſalute thee with health, becauſe we wiſhe it thee: and we ſalute thee with peace, for that wee bee louers thereof: and thou haſt not to holde it in ſmall eſtimation, that I ſalute thee in peace, and wiſh thee health: for vnto Princes that poſſeſſe not health, life is tedious: and they which haue not peace, it were leſſe euil to be dead. It may chaunce, that the warre which a man hath againſt his owne proper ſenſualitie ſufficeth not, but that he muſt inuent warre againſt ſome ſtraunge countrie. A man that may not ſubdue his heart, which within his own body is impriſoned, thinketh he to conquere the whole world that is placed in ſo great libertie? If in time of peace wee may not liue in quietneſſe: what ſhal wee do when wee awake new enimies againſt vs? The Prince that may not perſuade him ſelfe to conforme his wil and mind to the iudgement of one onely perſon, doth he think to conſtreine all perſons to be appliant to his onely iudgement? Great trauell hath the poore man, that wanteth all things: but much more hath the Prince ỹ is contented with nothing. Here we vnderſtand, that ỹ haſt aduentured thy perſon, ſpent thy treaſure, imployed thy friends, & deſtroyed many people, to be lord of the Parthians: & we fully beleeue, that nowe thou art no more ſatiſfied, then when thou wert only king of Perſia: for, contentation conſiſteth not in cõquering ſtrange kingdoms: but in taming & moderating our own proper deſires. Neither the Parthians

there in Asia, neither the Romanes here in Europa, haue committed any deede, wherfore thou shouldest murther thē, or manace vs: but it may come to passe, that they shal reuenge their iniurie, and we destroye thy potencie: because for the more parte, there neuer groweth any daunger towardes vs by our enimies which haue vs in hatred: but from our friends whom we haue offended. The Romanes and Parthians at al times haue beene thy good friendes, and thou hast attempted an enterprise to offend them: but I sweare vnto thee by the immortall Gods, that if thou doest not restore them that which thou hast taken, and to vs, that which wee possesse: in such manner, we Romanes wil make thee warre, that from commaunding as a king of Asia, thou shalt come to serue as a vassal seruaunt in Rome. There wee sende thee our Ambassadours, which shall declare vnto thee our will, heare them and beleeue them: and if thou wilt not giue faith vnto the woordes which they shall speake, thou shalt hereafter giue credit vnto the armies which wee will sende. No more, but that our Gods be with thee, and thine alwayes with mee.

The Romane Ambassadours which passed into Asia with this letter, afterwardes reported, that when king Artaxerxes had perused the same twice or thrice, he spake in this manner.

Certeine woordes vttered by Artaxerxes vppon the receipt of Alexander his Ambassage.

I haue

I haue read this letter of your Prince, more then once or twice: and as appeareth by the ſtyle thereof, he hath ſpent more time in the Achademies, ſtudying: then in the fieldes, fighting: becauſe warrelike Princes haue high thoughtes, and reaſons very ſhort: but in armes verie doughtie.

I accept your Ambaſſage, and explicate your credite, ſince the meaning of your Prince is, that I ſhall leaue what I haue taken from the Parthians, and not occupie my ſelfe in poſſeſsing that which appertineth vnto the Romanes: vnto this aunſweringe, I ſaye: that the lawe which hath ordeined, this is thine, and this is mine, proceeded from baſe mindes and humble heartes, that wanted hardineſſe to enterpriſe greate thinges: immagining to defende by bookes, that which they durſt not winne with armes. The lawes made by poore Philoſophers ought not to preiudice the greateneſſe of Princes: becauſe the Goddes haue determined, that all thinges ſhall bee proper, except kingdomes, which amongeſt Princes ſhould be common: the right whereof conſiſteth not in ſuch as doe inherite them, but in them which may winne them.

The heroycall Princes, and high mindes, are not to bee ſatiſfied with the patrimonies of their predeceſſours: muche leſſe apperteineth it vnto their greateneſſe, to demaund by lawe, that which their enimies haue taken from them: but for preſeruation of their inheritaunce to ſpende their treaſure, and for conquering and ſubduing kingdomes, euery houre to aduenture their liues.

And ſince it is thus, that there is no king ſo vertu-

ous, but enuieth anothers kingdome: I am determined to conſerue that which I haue taken from the Parthians, and to take what I may from the Romanes: and if fortune ſhalbee frowarde in this my iourney, at the leaſt all men ſhall prayſe the greatnes of my minde.

These and such other words Artaxerxes vsed with the Romane Ambassadours, which (as they afterwards reported in Rome) did not so much maruell at that which he saide, as of the minde wherewith he did manifest the same: for he seemed not to talke with the toung, but to fight with his handes. Nowe, when the Ambassadours were dispatched and departed from the courte, he called them againe and said: Saye vnto Alexander your prince, that I meane not to aunswere vnto his philosophicall letter: but in place of writing, I assigne him the fielde for paper, the lance for the penne, bloud for ynke, & woundes for wordes. The Ambassadours being returned vnto Rome, and reporting all that had happened with Artaxerxes, the Senate were not a little touched therwith, and all the people conceiued no small indignation, ioyntly swearing to breake the pride of Artaxerxes, & to reuenge the wordes that he had spoken against Rome. This Prince Artaxerxes was much loued and liked of his people, and no lesse feared of straungers: and a thing moste to be noted in him, was, that if in taking from others he had the shewe of a tyrant, after he possessed the same, he did gouerne as a right and iust Prince. Many Romanes requested Alexander, to assemble Sorcerers, and Magicians, to declare the successe of that warre: whiche he woulde not in any wise accomplishe, either might well indure the hearing thereof, affirming: that if as the Magicians & Soothsayers, by their art, haue knowlege to vnderstand things to come, so they had power to remedie the mischief which they should find, it were not vniust to con-

cõferre with them,& alſo to ſerue them:but ſince I am certaine that I may not eſcape what my deſtinies wil caſt vpõ mee, I will rather ſticke vnto that which the Gods ſhall determine, then vnto that which the Magicians ſhall report and imagine.

CHAP. VII.

¶ Of a diſcreete ſpeach vſed by Alexander vnto his men of warre.

ALexander vnderſtanding the proud anſwere that Artaxerxes had giuen vnto his Embaſſadours, determined againſt him to denounce warre: vnto whiche end hee ſent his mandats to all prouinces, cities,ſubiects,and confederats with the Romane Empire,to ſuccour them with monie,and aſſiſt them with their moſt warlike people. Eleuen yeres were paſt, in which the Empire enioyed moſt perfecte peace and tranquillitie: and vppon the tidings of theſe new warres into Aſia, they were not a litle amazed and eſcandalized: partly for exacting newe tributes, and partly for demaunding their huſbands and ſonnes for the warres. With gratefull minds and readie diſpoſition,the imperialiſts accepted the Emperour Alexander in his requeſtes,and were no leſſe readie to yéld their monie,their ſonnes, and perſons to be imployed in his ſeruice: becauſe they were fully perſuaded, that neither by his fault, that warre was raiſed: either by his want of merite, to finde therein any miſfortune. During the time that monie was collecting,and the men of warre aſſembling,he commaunded all the Capitaines,Centurions, and the moſt principal of all his garriſons and armies, to come before him: who being placed in the field,and hee himſelfe aduaunced aloft, hée ſpake to them after this maner.

Alexander his Oration, to his Capi-
teines and armie, assembled in the field.

Brethren, companions, and my friends, I beseeche the immortall Gods, to giue vnto my tongue sweete eloquence, touching that which I haue to say: and to place in your hartes congruent attention, concerning that which you haue to heare: because, grace to perswade in him that speaketh, and permission to be perswaded in him that heareth, are gifts that many craue, but verie few obteine. The inclination wherwith we are ledd, is so proud, and the malice of man so wilie, ỹ there is none which esteemeth himselfe so simple, but thinketh to know that which another vnderstandeth: and therefore, for one man to haue skill to perswade many, is a gift that the gods onely do giue. With the seueritie of Demosthenes, the prudence of Pythagoras, the wisedome of Plato, and the eloquence of Cicero, many may hardly perswade one person: & doth one man thincke to perswade many? That which I haue presently to say vnto you, is not to the ende that ye shal do what I wil, but to vnderstand what it is that you will: because, in great and graue affaires, one hath to propound, but many to determine. But comming to the purpose: you haue knowen & seene, that these xi. yeares we haue gouerned the Romane Empire: in which space we haue trauelled to conserue all men in iustice, & shunned all occasions that might hinder our peace: wherin we haue cause to giue thanks vnto the Gods, since we haue deserued to enioy in oure time, ỹ which our predecessours neuer obteined. Although a

prince

prince in his condition be a Saturnine, and in his life not well aduiſed, in conuerſation vnbridled, in keeping couetous, and proud in his owne eſtimation: yet all is to bee ſuffered and diſſimuled, if hee hold peace with ſtrangers, and without acception of perſons, doe equall iuſtice vnto his ſubiectes. It is knowen vnto you all, that Artaxerxes king of Perſians, hath deſtroyed the Parthians, and dealt foulely with all oure confederats & friendes, and yet remayneth in ſo great power in Aſia, ỳ there is not againſt him one launce in the Reſte: but your heroycall deedes and noble mindes being conſidered, wee thincke not that ye either meruaile, or haue any doubt thereof: for that admiration proceedeth of ſmall wiſedome, and feare of cowardneſſe. Heroycall perſons, that amongeſt others would be notified, receiue with equall mindes aduerſitie and proſperitie: for vnto ſuch men, though the ioy of proſperitie, and the ſmarte of aduerſitie bee vncertaine, yet is their glorie vnuariable. Leauing the Gods, and ſpeaking of the affaires of men, nothing may iuſtly bee termed great, but that which bringeth with it great inconuenience: and then one is of more valure then all, when one doeth that whiche all leaue vndone: for, greatneſſe conſiſteth not in poſſeſſing proud deſires: but in perfourming deedes of nobleneſſe.

From Rome wee haue ſent oure Embaſſadours vnto Artaxerxes, to perſuade him to leaue thoſe prouinces whiche hee hath taken, and to abſtaine from them which hee ment to take: which hee not onely refuſeth to doe, but hardly might endure the hearing therof: for which cauſe, it apperteineth vnto the greatneſſe of Rome, to employ it ſelfe to the breaking

of his pride: for that it proceeded not of leſſe vertue to humble the proud, then to aduaunce the humble. Many of you which be here, haue beene bred, and alſo preſent at the glorious acts of Antoninus Pius, and Seuerus my progenitours, noble men of immortall renowne: and notwithſtanding that by the antiquitie of your yeares, and the trauels which ye haue paſſed in the warres, ye may not fight, yet at the leaſt ye ſhal profite vs by your aduiſe and counſell: whiche in the warres is verie neceſſarie, and no leſſe profitable: for that in ſuch aſſembly, one counſell is oft giuen, that exceedeth the ſeruice of a thouſand horſemen. Perfectly wee ought to hope, that wee Romanes ſhal bee conquerours, and the Barbarians ouerthrowen: not onely for that they firſt raiſed this warre, but alſo becauſe we haue requeſted them with peace: wherein ỹ Gods are ſo iuſt, that very ſildome they permit them to enioy the victorie, who were the occaſion to raiſe that warre. And doubt ye neuer the more, for that our armour is old & ruſtie: becauſe the felicitie of warre, conſiſteth not in bright armour, but in doughtie harts and noble mindes. Many which march on land in bright armour, be ouercome: and all men that go by ſea, weare ruſtie armour, and doe conquere: in ſuch wiſe, that warre is not mainteyned with armour of yron, but with heartes of ſteele. And be not eſcādalized with conſideration that ye haue to fight vnder the ſtādard of a young prince, which wanteth experience in the warres: but as of the reſt, ſo of this ye ſhal haue no cauſe to doubt: for that I go determined, intending in the acte of fighting, to fight as one of you: & in matters of counſell, to yeeld my ſelfe vnto the counſel of the auncient.

For a-

For any want of victuals, neither haue ye to ſuſpecte: for that we are prouided alreadie in the chanel of Byzantio, with wheate of Sicyl, wines of Cãdie, bacon of Campania, oyle of Spaine, ſalt of Capua, pouldred beefe of Cerdonia, and oates and beanes of Normandie. For other pleaſaunt and delectable things, I neither cõmaund to ſearch, either would I (if they were found) ſuffer them to be tranſported: becauſe in the warres, they may hardly ſubdue their enimies, that are ouercome with vices. Scipio the African, when he went to beſiege the renowmed Numantia, founde thirtie thouſand Romanes (which xiiii. yeares had beene at the ſiege thereof) enuironed with two hundreth thouſand vices: who (like a ſkilfull Capitaine) baniſhed both vice & vicious perſõs out of his campe: this being accompliſhed, preſently the enimies were ouercome. In this iourny ſo tedious, perilous, chargeable & coſtly, I would not that ye ſhould do more thẽ ye ſhall ſee me doe: becauſe in trauell vppon the way, ſayling on the ſea, defending paſſages, executing on ỹ enimies, and in the vſage of my perſon, ye ſhall finde mee an affable companion, and no niggardly prince.

These, and ſuch other woordes Alexander vſed vnto his armie: which being heard, with lowde voyces they did all wiſh the Gods to preſerue his life, and ſaid with one aſſent, that they were readie to go and die in that warre in his ſeruice. This ſpeach being ended, he diuided amongeſt his armies much monie, according to the cuſtome of the Romane Empereurs: which was not giuen in part of paiment of their wages, but to animate them, that with the better wil they might indure the trauels of warre.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ Howe the Romanes were ouercome of the Persians.

" After that Alexander had discoursed wt his Captaines
" and prouided all thinges necessarie for his iourney, he
" commaunded open warre to be proclaimed against Asia, &
" a day appointed for his departing: before which time, hee
" made great sacrifices in the temples, and vowes vnto the
" Gods: because the good Romane princes vsed for custome,
" first to pacifie the yre of the Gods, before they toke armes
" against their enimies. On the day in which he issued out of Rome, all the Senate and people did accompanie him 3. miles: & further also (a thing much to be noted) there was none which beheld him departing, but bitterly fell a weeping: for that being (as he was) a prince so pitiful, of all mē he was cordially and hartily beloued. From the time ỹ hee departed from Rome, he stayed not, vntil he arriued at the citie Alexandria: to which place he had commaunded all ỹ garrisons of Illyria to repaire, ỹ there being assembled, the ignorant might exercise feates of armes: & further, to prouide things necessarie for ỹ warres. Alexander being arriued at Alexandria, it seemed vnto him, & to his graue Romane counsellers, to send another Embassage to Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, once more to inuite him to peace: which if he refused, then against him to sound defiance.

Artaxerxes being aduertised of Alexander his passage into Asia, & the cōming of his Embassadours into his kingdom, did neither manifest any feare of the Romane power, either was any thing altered with this newe Embassage, making the Legates none other answere, but that shortly he would send a newe embassage. Within 6. dayes after, Artaxerxes sent an embassage of 400. horsemen to Alexander, of the most noble, valiant, and gallantest gentlemen of his armies: and the end wherfore he sent so many and so braue, was, to terrifie the Romanes with the magnificence of ỹ Persians. The Embassage of those 400. persons, were comprised in fewe words, and after this maner were they written.

The

The Embaſſage of Artaxerxes, the Perſian king, to Alexander the renowmed Emperour.

The great king Artaxerxes, Lord of the Perſians, cõmaundeth thee Alexander, king of the Romanes, to depart out of Aſia, and ceaſe to enter poſſeſſion of Aſſyria: care not to enter into Ionia, Caria, either to haue to doe with Pontus, the ſea Aegeum, either to paſſe any countrie or prouince which cõfineth or bordereth vpon Europa: for otherwiſe, in not accõpliſhing theſe thinges, it ſhal be neceſſarie ỹ thou be chaſtiſed.

Alexander conſidering this proud Embaſſage, cõmaunded al the 400. Embaſſadours to be taken, & rewarding o- " thers with all the apparell which they did weare, and the " iewels which they had, he ſent them baniſhed into Phry- " gia, there to till the lands, & plow wᵭ oxen. Some gaue A- " lexander counſel, not to baniſh but to hang them: to whom " he anſwered: he that ſaith in his Embaſſage no more then " he is cõmaunded, & fighteth for defence of his coũtrie, vn- " iuſtly they take away his life. Alexander poſſeſſing an ar- " mie of great power, forgot not to diuide the ſame into three parts, ỹ is to ſay, ſending the one by the way of Armenia, ỹ other along the borders of Tygris & Euphrates, & the third part he ledd with himſelfe to enter into the countries and fields of his enimies: to the end, that the Perſians beholding themſelues aſſailed on euery ſide, ſhould yéld and ſtoope to the ſeruice of the Romanes. In thoſe dayes, ỹ Perſians had not ſkil orderly to giue a battel, but ỹ ioyntly they fought in heapes, & ſo either they did ſubdue, or were ſubdued: and that which is more to be meruailed, as well women went to the warres as men: neither did the prince giue wages vnto the one or the other, more then euery one was able to get, rob, and ſpoile in the ſame. Although the Perſians were not readie in kéeping of aray, yet on the other parte, they were much accuſtomed vnto armes, and from their youth addicted to runne horſes, and ſhoote arrowes.

Alex-

Alexanders armie entered the landes of the Persians, burning, robbing, and spoyling countries, castels and fortes: and the Persians, both subtile and guilefull, notwithstanding they were of power to resist them, yet suffered them to enter into a place, where they might of them take most aduauntage: and so it came to passe, that after they once began to fight, the Romane power was sone destroyed. At the time of the encounter of the Persians and Romanes, Alexander was not in the furie and heate of the battell: because his mother Manea, by the weight of teares, had obteyned of him to remaine in his tent: affirming, that in the end he might not fight, but for one: and if there by chaunce he should be slaine, the whole state of the Romane Empire were put in perill. Exceading great were the hurtes and harmes which the Romane armie, on that day receiued: and truely, not thorough any want of fortitude of the Romanes in fighting, either feare of dying: but for that the Persians knowing the straites, had of the Romanes great aduantage: and because also, when in the successe of mundaine thinges fortune is contrarie, then little profiteth either force or diligence.

Alexander beholding his armie in so great calamitie, fell sicke of pure pittie and sorrowe: Artaxerxes contrariwise, with the ioy of so great victorie, if before he were proud, was afterwards most proud: in such wise, that herein is seene, the miserable estate of princes, since of the infelicitie of the one, dependeth the felicitie of the other.

The garisons of Illyria, more then all the rest, were indangered, not by fighting, but by sickneſſe: which being vnapt and vnable to endure the moistneſſe of the countrie, & the heate of the Sunne, to marche on foote, and slepe in armour, and no lesse without all temper in their diet: they were so many that died, that the hundreth part escaped not with life. Alexander considering himselfe ill appeased, his armie discomfited, and winter approched: determined to retyre vnto Antioche, of which opinion and minde also was his mother Manea.

Alexander

Alexander being returned vnto Antioche, shortly recouered health, recreated the sound, cured the sicke & wounded, & succoured such as were in necessitie: which hee performed with so great liberalitie, as if they had brought victorie from the Persians. The other two armies whiche were not with Alexander, admitting they were not totallie discomfited, yet were they at diuers times, & by sundrie meanes, much destroyed: in such manner, that in all those warres, against the good Emperour Alexander Fortune was most froward.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Of other warres which he had in Germanie, and (as some do say) was there slaine.

ALexander being returned vnto Antioche, receiued newes, that the greatest part of Germanie was reuolted in rebellion: by occasion that the Germaines had intelligence, howe Alexander in Asia was ouercome, and all his armies discomfited and slaine. The Romanes and the Germaines, from most auncient times, were alwayes in all thinges most contrarie: and if at any time they seemed to haue desire of peace with the Romanes, it was not of their francke wil, but for want of power: for it is a generall rule, that he neuer serueth gratefully, which by violence is subiect vnto another.

The newes which Alexander receiued were, that a great hoste of Almaines had passed the riuer Rhene, and the great Danubie: & were entered by the riuers of Illyria, burning, robbing, slaying, and sacking many cities in the confines of Italie, and subiecte to Rome: in such wise, that from subiectes and allies, they were turned to most cruell enimies. The small number that remayned with Alexander of Illyria, and escaped the warres of Asia, sealt and lamēted (much more then others) those heauie newes: in cō-

sidering that the Persians had slaine their parentes, & that their wiues and children were now destroyed by the Germaines. Exceeding was the sorrow which stoung Alexanders heart, considering with what haste he was called vnto the warres of Germanie: chiefly, for aduertisement of the necessitie of his personal presence in the same warrs: for otherwise, the Romanes would not repaire: and such as came discomfited from Asia, would all depart. The greatest griefe that did cruciate and torment his heart, was, to thinke that at ỹ houre in which the fame of his vnfortunat fight should be diuulgate and noysed through the Empire, and the Germaines newly reuolted, his enimies in Rome would attempt some commotion in the common wealthe: for that it is naturall vnto the common people, to desire daily chaunge of newe Lords. The Emperour Alexander determined in his owne person to be in the warrs of Germanie: and on the other part, did write to the Senate amorous letters, sending vnto Rome, to be offered in the temples, great sacrifices: and shippes loaden with wheate and oyle, to be diuided amongest the people: and ioyntly with this, he secreately prouided to furnishe the frontiars with men and victuals: in such wise, that this good prince, in his owne person would goe to the warres against his enimies: and with his goods would winne the heartes of his subiects. With no small diligence, Alexander trauciled from Asia to Germanie: and immediately vppon his arriuall at Rhene, he made bridges of boates, whereon his armies might frely passe, and also fight with his enimies.

Alexander iourneying towards Germanie, entertayned certaine people called Maures, which liued in the fieldes Osroanos, bordering vppon Thracia: who fought with long lances, hauing a head of yron at eche ende, with such derteritie and readinesse on horseback, that in riding they would take vp their lances falne vnto the ground: and also wound their enimies as well in flight, as assault. Many of these Maures were meruailous readie archers at the crosbowe: and as naturally the Germaines are high of bodie,

and

and slow and laden with flesh, and the Maures on the other part, very skilful in shooting, and of like life in skirmishing: so they behaued themselues no more nor no lesse with the Germaines, then an archer with a white at a Butt, that is to say, without all danger to strike the same all to peeces. Although the Romaines were few, yet in their martial affayres they had prosperous beginning, and no lesse hope of good successe: but ỹ Germaines, admitting they were many, yet fought they with great misfortune: because the Romanes were men of experience, but the Germaines chiefly practised manuring the fields. Notwithstanding the Germaines did repent them of their warlike attempts, and Alexander not misliking his personall iourney: yet the good prince forgat not to request them, and also pray them with peace: for which purpose, he sent vnto them wise Embassadors, that on his behalfe should say vnto them very good words, and offer large rewards, with a general pardon of all iniuries: this did hee, not for feare, but yet with some doubt of fortunes variableness, which in warlike attẽpts discouereth her dealing with most vncertaintie. The Germaines most times beginne their warres with choler, and prosecute the same with furie: but in the end, they endure to be persuaded by requests, & to be ouercome with monie. During the time that the Embassadours practised peace, they established a truce betwirt both armies, whereat the Romane hostes were amazed, and no lesse escandalized: for that as then being fleshed vpon the Germaines, they would reuenge all iniuries, and also rob them of their goods.

In Alexanders armie there was a Capteine named Maximius, borne in Thracia, in linage obscure, in condition barbarous, of inclination vicious, in office a mansleyar, and a robber on highe wayes: who, for his valiauntnesse in warrelike affayres, came by all the degrees of cheualrie to haue ỹ charge of men of warre. And to consider a meruailous matter of this Maximius, which is to say: ỹ as Nature was his aduersarie in depriuing him of vertues naturall, so was Fortune his fauourer in all variable chaunces:

because, then fortune sheweth her greatnes, when such as
" be of small valure, are aduanced to the possession of migh-
" tie thinges. The Romanes considering howe Alexander
" practised peace with the Germaines, and that the truce cō-
" tinuing, he gaue himselfe vnto pleasure and vice, all spoyle
" and robbing of enimies being remoued, agréed amongest
" themselues to create Maximius Emperour, & to murther
" their lord and Emperour Alexander. The case was thus,
" that Maximius being in the fields, teaching certaine yonge
" men to play at weapons, the confederate traytours came
" vnto him, and taking Maximius amongest them, apparel-
" led him with the robe and enligne of the Empire: who be-
" ing ignoraunt of their intent, and supposing it to be done in
" iest, vsed some resistance. But, when Maximius perceiu-
" ued his promotion to be no matter of iest, he determined to
" kill the true Emperour in earnest: wherof Alexander (all
" careless in his tente) being aduertised, began to chaunge
" countenance as one sore abashed, and his mother also to
" fall a weeping. The generous and valiant gentlemen that
" Alexander had with him, hee did request and persuade to
" resist the traitour Maximius, and as good vassals & frends,
" in this case to liue and die with him: which they all pro-
" mised, but afterwards obserued not.

" The next day early in the morning, it was said vnto A-
" lexander, that Maximius came accompanied with all the
" armie: whereuppon Alexander demaunding armour to
" issue forth to fight, there was not one mā found that would
" follow: for ỹ all his men of warre were returned to Maxi-
" mius, and the most of his seruauntes that night were fled.
" When Maximius came within the viewe of the imperiall
" tent, where Alexander remayned, he stode still, and com-
" maunded certaine Capitaines to goe to Alexander, not to
" take, but to kill him: & that by no meanes they should giue
" him space or place to do any déed, or stay to heare any of his
" words: for that many times delayes in like cases bring to
" passe, that hee that should haue died, doth kill him that
" should haue liued.

When

When Maximius his Captaines came vnto Alexanders tente, he was blaming his mother, saying, that by her auarice and couetoulnes hée loſt both life and honour: but his complaintes, and her lamentations extended to ſmal purpoſe: for that ioyntly they ſlue the ſonne, and mangled the mother all to pæces. Herodianus (in his Romane hiſtories) ſayth, that this chaunce and death happened vnto Alexander: but other Hiſtoriographers, no leſſe graue and true, although they ſay that hee died in Germanie, yet ſay not that he was ſubdued in Aſia: moreouer, the occaſion of his death they report after another maner: becauſe Herodianus knewe not otherwiſe to excuſe the treaſon committed by Maximius, but to ſay, for that Alexander had béene ouercome, he was odious vnto all the armie.

CHAP. X.

¶ Of a ſolemne Oration made by Alexander vnto his men of warre.

When Alexander departed from Rome to goe into the warres of Aſia, hée had great regard vnto his men of warre, as well for their ſafetie, as alſo for robbing ſuch countries as they were to paſſe: for, as naturall is it for men of warre to rob their neighbours, as to kill enimies. When hé did eate, he had alwayes his tente open: to the end all men of his hoſt ſhould both ſée and knowe, that the meate which he did eate, had more taſte of the ſharpeneſſe of the warres, then of the delicateneſſe of Rome. Nightly hee did viſite the circuite of his campe: and at all times would giue them falſe alarmes, to yéeld them aptneſſe vnto armour, and readineſſe to repaire vnto their enſignes. If any perſon did wander from his ſtandard, either to rob, or but ſo much as to walke, the qualitie of the perſon conſidered, hee receiued puniſhment more or leſſe.

If any were a brabler with his hoſte, froward with his

" companions, disobedient vnto his officers, toke any thing
" by violence, or was foule mouthed, hee would say these
" woords vnto him: wouldest thou, that as thou doest, they
" should doe, or as thou sayest, they should say vnto thee?
" Knowest thou not the prouerbe of the Christians, *Quod*
" *tibi nõ vis, alteri ne feceris*, that is, what thou wilt not to thy
" selfe, do not to another. Alexander said that he heard this
" Prouerbe spoken, and he wist not whether of the Iewes or
" Christians: whiche in his heart toke such dæpe impressi-
" on, that he did not onely speake and repeate, but also many
" times wrote the same vnto his gouernours: and further,
" caused them to be drawen vppon his ensignes, and grauen
" vpon all his workes. Alexander being resident in the ter-
" ritories of Antioche, was informed that a certaine Capi-
" taine had abused an auncient woman, both in woord and
" dæde: and both being called into his presence, and the mat-
" ter heard, he commaunded the Capitaine to be depriued of
" his rœme and office, and of the liberties which hee had re-
" ceiued in Rome: and further, that hee should be slaue vnto
" the old woman: furthermore, hee commaunded that in
" Carpentars craft he should perfourme his seruice, & main-
" teine his old dame. Hee vsed so great seueritie and hard-
" nesse with his men of warre, that many times hee dispat-
" ched them by whole bandes: for that he might not endure
" their ciuil dissentions: or robberies, and scandals amon-
" gest neighbours.

All Romane princes had feare of their armies, except Alexander, and the cause why (as he said) hee feared them not, was: for that he payed them very well, and remoued all occasion of reprehension from his owne person and life: for in the ende, none hath true libertie to chastice, but the man that is of a sincere life. The armie remayning in Antioche, he was aduertised that they gaue themselues vnto women, haunted hoate houses, and spente and lost much time in vaine playes and idlenesse: whereuppon hee commaunded all the Capitaines, Tribunes, and Centurions, to be taken, and with yrons to be cast into prison, vppon

which

which cause there grew amongest them, no small scandal: in so much that openly they durst say vnto Alexander, if on that present day hee did not let them lose, the nexte day following they would depart vnto the enimies. Alexander being aduertised what his men of warre had said, & what they ment to do, commaunded them all to appeare before his presence, both such as were in bonds, as those that were at libertie: saying vnto them these words.

Alexander his Oration, made to his men of warre, at his commaundement before him summoned and assembled.

Brothers, friends, and my companions, that which now I haue to say vnto you, is more for ỹ loue whiche I beare you, then feare which I haue of you: because, princes that haue feare to execute iustice, either it is for that they are vniust: or because their subiectes should dissemble their owne proper vices. Howe would ye that I should suffer you, being (as ye are) noble Romaines? whom cruell tyrantes would not endure as their subiectes? There is none so euil, although hee endeuour not to be vertuous, that of the good holdeth not good opinion: wherof followeth, that it is much more euill for the common wealthe, the prince being vertuous, to suffer persons vicious: then him that is vicious, to permit no vice in his common wealth.

The prince that consenteth vnto vices, and dissembleth with vicious persons, is not to be named a pitifull father, but a peruerse and a cruell tyraunte:

for that, notwithstanding at the present hee doeth not chastice them, yet in processe the one shall destroy the other. One vicious, with another that is vicious, may neuer long continue in friendship: for presently vpon the decay of vice, at the instant their friendship faileth. Being (as I am) your prince according to iustice, and your brother in loue, how would ye that I should suffer you to rauish women, play your wages away at dice, spoile orchardes, with other such like vile & heynous deeds? Admitting that now I would passe and dissemble the same, yet doubtlesse, your selues before others would blame & condemne ỹ same: becausе this tribute the good haue ouer the euill, that if they bee greeued with the chastisement giuen vnto the euill, in the end they shall some day praise him ỹ did iustice. Vnderstand ye not that ye are gentlemen of Rome? and that on the day in which any man taketh the name of a Romane, hee bindeth himselfe to bee vertuous? Becausе this name of Romanes, was not so much magnified of our predecessours, by killing enimies in Asia, as by weeding vices out of oure common wealthes.

Wee call the Persians, Barbarians, becausе they haue taken that which was ours: and doubt ye that of Romanes, they shall not intitle vs tyrantes, that haue spoyled others? I am named Alexander, and would imitate Alexander the great: of whome, and of his father king Philip it is said, that when they brought foorth their armies to fighte, they seemed more a Senate in the common wealth, then men of warre. If they had done what ye nowe haue done, neuer might those princes haue obteined so great victories of their enimies, either writers so largely to haue registred

their noble and glorious deedes, either might I haue prayſed them with ſo good wordes: whereof folow-eth, that the chiefeſt effecte to ouerthrowe enimies, is, to holde armies verie well diſciplined. Princes vſe to loſe manie victories, not for want of iuſtified war, but becauſe their men of warre are wicked: and admittinge that ſome times euill men do conquere, yet in the end they ſhal be vanquiſhed, or elſe of the gods cruelly chaſticed. Let them be certeine, that are either preſent or abſent, if anie one will be euill, either let him returne vnto his houſe, or elſe we ſhal chaſten him if he remaine vnder our ſtandard: becauſe it is not iuſte that wee, comminge to recouer that whiche is vſurped from the common wealth, by bearinge with your woorkes, ſhoulde defame our mother Rome. If we ſuffer ſo manie trauels, aduenture our ſelues in ſo manie perills, and conſume our treaſures, it is not for wante of oyle, wheate, wine, plate, or golde, but to magnifie the renowme of the Romaine Empire: and ſince it is ſo, howe is it poſſible for the Gods to permitt, that by the handes of infamous perſons, we ſhould obteine honour or renoune. Numa Pompilius, Quintus Cincinnatus, Marcus Marcellus, Paulus Emilius, Quintus Fabius, Cneus Fabricius, and Scipio Africanus brought to paſſe, with the Gods that the Romaine empire was accepted, and that through the worlde the name of Rome was reuerēced: we read not in hiſtories that theſe glorious and noble men, in their perſons were tyrants, and muche leſſe woulde conſente their armies to be vicious. Beleeue me, friends and companions, Princes that will mainteine the fame of good Princes, and not recouer the reproche of tyrantes, ought to haue

as greate care to preſerue their armies from vice, as to auoyde the treaſon of enimies: for that men do incurre greater daunger by ſecrete vices, then by open enimies. That whiche ye haue done, is either good or euill: and if robbinge of fieldes, rayſinge of mutinies, and forceing of women, be good: then by this accompt, to honour temples, defende orphans, ſacrifice vnto the Gods, and to vſe iuſtice with all people, is wicked: ſince the lawes whiche condemne the one, allowe the other: whiche of all you is neither to be beleued, either ſo muche as once to be thought: for, not withſtandinge of euill we can ſay but euil: yet is it muche worſe to defende, then do it. If theſe inſolencies whiche I haue rehearſed, and you haue committed, ye holde for euill: why conceiue ye not the chaſticemente giuen for the ſame, to be good? If vertue and rewarde be couſines, who wil denie that the treſpaſſe & ỹ puniſhment are brethren? He that ordeyned the conquerour to triumph, hath he not appointed the theefe to be hanged? Will ye be paide before hande, for ſeruice vnperfourmed? and will ye neither pay or reſtore that whiche ye haue purloyned?

Notwithſtanding Princes haue greate libertie in the cõmon wealth, yet are they not exempted or free frõ iuſtice: and will men of warre only be priuileged? The wordes whiche ye haue vttered, and the threatninges which ye haue thundered, neither do I take them as iniuries, or yeald my ſelf to anie grieuous agonie: for in killinge me, ye ſhall kill but one: yet in the ende, there ſhall not wante in the Empire, one to ſucceede mee, and alſo to chaſtice you.

That whiche I preſently requeſte and commaund

you

you, is, to amende that whiche is paſt, preſentely to imbrace quietneſſe, and to be aduiſed in time to come: whiche if ye refuſe, I ſhall be forced to vſe rigour, becauſe I am not to ſupporte mine Empire, by relieuing vicious ſouldiours, but in maintenance of all men by iuſtice.

These and ſuch wordes beeing ſaide, they became al milde and pacified: and further, all armour beeing laide a parte, in token of obedience: and their heades caſte downe, in ſigne of ſorrowe: euerie man departed vnto his charge. Hereby, the greate authoritie of Alexander in his commaundements is to bee gathered: and the force whiche he had in his perſuadinge ſpeache, to be pondered. The bande and capteineſhip which he diſmiſſed, after xxx. dayes he did bothe pardon and admitte them: becauſe hee ſawe in them greate repentaunce, for that which was paſt, and readie mindes to ſerue him in time to come: and ſo it came to paſſe, that afterwardes in battell they proued men moſt notable, and ſuch in déede, as to whome greateſt glorie was giuen.

CHAP. XI.

¶Of the victorie that Alexander obteined againſt the Perſians, and of his triumph, as ſome writers do report.

When Alexander departed from Rome, becauſe of the warres in Aſia, a great part of Summer was paſt: for which cauſe, it was neceſſarie for him to Winter in Antioche: admitting ỹ delay increaſeth coſt, yet was it profitable for perfourmance of his warlike attempts: for that in

in mene time, he reformed his armies, prouided victuals, repayred high wayes, recouered manie daungerous passages, and also remoued from his enimie manie confederates. When summer began, Alexander marched with his armie: after whose entrance into the lande of Persia, he performed al exploites accustomed in suche a iourney: which is to wete, brake bridges, ouerthrewe fortes, burned houses, sacked townes, spoyled fieldes, killed men, and did captiuate women: whereof we haue not to meruell, for that notwithstandinge warre be iustified, and all thinges iuste therein demaunded, yet alwayes the dedes thereof be moste vniuste. Certeine dayes beeing past, wherin were trauersed diuers daungerous skirmishes, and no lesse perilous incounters, by the consente of Alexander and Artaxerxes, they committed both their fortunes vnto the merite of a battell: the Persians being ouerthrowen, and the Romains remaining conquerours: wherein, if Artaxerxes had staide his hardinesse, and commended the matter vnto policie, placeing his power in his fortes and moste stronge places: if he had suffered the Romaines by tracte of time to consume thēselues, according to the custome of greate armies, in straunge countries: he might haue preserued, both his countrie and honour. Great riches were recouered in that battell, and infinite the captiues whiche then were taken: and as the Persians holde it for a moste greate iniurie to serue any straunge nation, so Artaxerxes, notwithstandinge hee was poore and ouercome, gathered together greate summes of money, and redeemed all captiues: in suche wise, that in Persia there remained no money, either anie captiues came vnto Rome.

Alexander recouered in those warres, the renoume of valiant, magnanime, and not couetous: and he was iustely intituled valiaunt, for his doughtinesse in fighting: magnanime, for his magnificent liberalitie: and not couetous, for the small share that he reserued vnto him selfe.

The

The affaires of Persia beeing dispatched, Alexander returned vnto Rome, entering the same with greate triumph, and glorie: for that conformable vnto the people and nation which they had subdued, was the riches that was brought vnto the treasurie. And after being mounted vpon the Capitol, he saide vnto the Senate, after this manner.

A shorte Oration made to the Senate.

Fathers Conscript, for that I come tyred with so long a iourney, and you no lesse wearied in receiuing mee, it were no reason to make long speache, muche lesse to inuent newe eloquence: because there is nothing so eloquently spoken, but if it bee saide out of time or place, seemeth tedious vnto the audience. He that shall speake, or persuade others, hath not only to consider what he saith, but also to obserue time, and respect the assemblie: for the Sea at one time, doth permitt her selfe to be spurned: and at another time not to bee touched. By that which ye haue hearde, as that which this day ye haue seene, ye may vnderstand howe daungerous this warre hath beene, and howe copious a victorie we haue obteined: for as ye vnderstand (Fathers conscript) there is no great harueste, without great tillage.

The case is thus, that the Persians had in their fauour foure score thousand footemen, sixe thousand horssemen, seuen hundreth Elephants, two thousand yron cartes, and two thousand slaues that were young men: the one halfe to beare victuals, and the other halfe to mend high wayes.

On

On that day in which both the one & the other came foorth into the fielde to fight, no man woulde haue thought, but ỳ the whole world had bene come together, and also the deade risen out of their graues. Of foote men we slewe twentie thousande, and did captiuate twentie thousande, of horse men two thousande were killed, and three thousande did yealde, of Elephantes we bringe three hundred, and three hundred we haue slaine: the cartes, the slaues, and prisoners, they haue redeemed by the weight of money, in such wise, that we haue taken their countries, ouercome their persons, and brought away their goods. I returne safe & sound, ỳ armie inriched, king Artaxerxes defeated, the name of Rome magnified, and the confederates satisfied: and with all these trauels though we come wearied, yet are we not fatigated: because victorie is so sweete a thing, that it leadeth al trauells past into obliuion.

Alexander hauing saide these wordes, the Senate exclaimed with loude voices.

The immortal Gods saue thee Alexander, the Gods make thy fame immortall, since this day thou haste honoured Rome with euerlastinge fame. Thou hast ouercome the Persians, visited the Parthians, subdued kinges, inriched the armies, and placed vs in great honour: for which cause, not vnworthily, we intitle thee *Pater Patriæ* father of our countrie, Tribune of the people, most highe Bishoppe, first Consul, & only Emperour of the worlde.

These & such other exclamations manifested by the Senate, at the issue of the Capitol gate, Alexander saide vnto all persons that there did attend him.

Fathers, sonnes, brothers, and companions vn-

to the fathers of the Senate, we haue giuen accompt of all that we haue done, and will giue you a reaſon, as apperteineth, of al that we haue ſaide. For this day, the triumph paſte ſufficeth: to morowe, we wil viſite the temples: the nexte daye, we will offer greate ſacrifices: the fourth day, wee will giue libertie vnto priſoners: the fifte day, we will diuide rewardes amongſt the poore widowes, and orphans: the ſixte day, we wil begin ỹ Perſike & Circen playes: for cõſidering the greatneſſe of our victorie, we wil firſt accompliſhe with the Gods, by whom we haue obteined the ſame: and then with men which gaue vs their aſsiſtance.

When Alexander **came from the Capitol, hee mounted on horſe backe to ride vnto his palace: whome, at that inſtante, certeine auncient gentlemen of** Rome **did take & beare vpon their ſhoulders, the people gathered together exclaminge with lowde voyces, in this manner.**

Bleſſed is Mamea thy mother, bleſſed art thou Alexander her ſonne, bleſſed is Rome ỹ bred thee, bleſſed is ỹ armie that elected thee, and bleſſed is ỹ Senate ỹ did conſecrate thee: for in thee is conteyned ỹ felicitie of Octauius, & the bountie of Traiane. Thou haſt lead with thee into the warres, our huſbands, our ſonnes, and our friendes, whome thou bringeſt backe with thee all ſounde, all riche, and likewiſe all contẽted: wherfore, we ſay vnto thee, that if this day we place thee vpon our ſhoulders, for euer more we will lay vp thy memorie in our entrayles.

In theſe exclamations the people continued, before and behinde, for the ſpace of fower houres, extremly peſtering all paſſage, vntill the chariote triumphant, with foure Elephants, made the wayes open. All ỹ which he ſaide vnto ỹ people, he commaunded preſently to be accompliſhed.

At

At the ende of these feastes, he did institute a temple of virgines, who were named *M*aneaes, in reuerence of his mother *M*anea. At the same time he receiued newes, that at Tanger a citie of Africa, Furius Celsus had obteined victorie, and Iunius Palinatus likewise in Armenia triumphed ouer the enimies, as also Varius Macrinus in Illyria had made a conquest of certeine countries: and the currers which brought ỹ newes, presented him also with thre tables of Lawrell. The feastes and triumphes being finished, he woulde be informed of the officers of the common wealth, that is to say: how in his absence they had vsed the people, and howe they had administred iustice: and suche as had not done well, he remoued: and those that had done well, he rewarded: giuinge vnto some more honourable offices, and to others heritages and money. Manie times Alexander woulde say, that they deserued as greate glorie that in time of warre did well gouerne the common wealth, as they whiche in the warres obteined victorie.

CHAP. XII.

Of thinges whiche he did in Rome, and howe the tyrant *M*aximius did kill him in Britaine.

After that Alexander had subdued and triumphed ouer the Persians, certeine dayes he was deteined in the gouernement and reformation of the cõmon wealth: because the longe absence of princes breedeth wante of
» iustice amongst the multitude. Of all the riches that
» he brought from the warres of Asia, he did take for him
» selfe, but one horse, one chariot, foure Elephantes, one
» sworde, one cuppe of Iue, and a paper of poinctes, which
» belonged vnto kinge Artaxerxes: for as he saide, The
» pray of princes, ought to be imployed on princes. The

de-

defence of the moſt daungerous frontiers, he commended not but vnto men ẏ had great wealth in the ſame: which if he had not, he gaue it them in ſuch wiſe, that to conſerue his fidelitie which he did owe, & to ſaue his goods which he poſſeſſed, he ſhould be forced to defende his countrie, or dye in the enterpriſe.

There was in Rome in thoſe dayes a Mathematicia, named Thraſibulus, of whō Alexander demaunded what death he ſhould dye: who anſwered: thou ſhalt dye in a ſtraunge countrie, not in thine olde age, but by ẏ ſworde of a Barbarian: whereat Alexander was nothing altered, but rather with exceeding ioy imbracing Thraſibulus ſaid:

A certeine ſpeach of Alexander againſt the terrour of death.

If the Gods did graunt vnto other princes to liue perpetually, and commaund mee onely to dye, I confeſſe I ſhould dolefully feele the deede of death: but our life being (as it is) ſo ſhorte, and death ſo neceſſarie: I had rather dye in the field by the handes of mine enimies, then in my chamber compaſſed with Phyſicians. Vnto the greatneſſe of Princes it appertaineth, not onely to lead a good life, but alſo elect an honourable death: and to this ende I ſay vnto thee Thraſibulus, that all ẏ felicitie of a Prince conſiſteth in well gouerning the common wealth, and alſo to imploye his life for the ſame. What fame, or glorie, what eaſe or quietneſſe, doth followe the life of that Prince which dieth in his olde yeres, and ſickely? in which age, for the moſt parte, olde men be euil ſerued of their ſubiectes, and contemned of ſtraungers. He that conceiueth it to bee good for the prieſt to dye in the temple, conceiueth no leſſe of the Prince that dyeth in the field: for that the office of the one is to praye, & of the other to fight.

I haue ſeene many dye here in Rome, after the manner which the common people do thinke the beſt kinde of death: that is to ſaye, laden with yeares, laide in their beddes, accompanied with ſonnes, honoured of parents, compaſſed with ſonnes in lawe, viſited of Phyſicians, and ſerued of nephues: at whoſe death, I beare no enuie: ſince I knewe of them, that before their bodies were taſted of woormes, their hearts were vnbowelled with griefe & thought.

Thraſibulus, thou doeſt well knowe, that Alexander, Darius, Hector, Pompeyus, Gayus, Tullius, Seneca, and Demoſthenes, were men in their perſons verie glorious, in doctrines verie wiſe, and in their deedes no leſſe heroycall: and yet all theſe with many others dyed, not accõpanied with their friends, but by the handes of their enimies: neither were they blemiſhed with ſo vntimely a death, ſince of them nothing was leſſe eſteemed: but rather by their cruell deaths, they aduaunced their fames. No other thing is diuers in death, but onely the manner of the ſame, ſithence death in the ende is alwayes but one thinge: for we ſhould not be afflicted with the manner of our death: but what thinges we ſhould repaire, to the amẽdement of our life. Admitting that theſe cõſiderations, apperteine more vnto Philoſophers, then vnto the ſimple: yet I ſaye both to thee and other, that as it was not in our handes to be borne, ſo ſhal not the manner of our death conſiſt in our ſelues: but ẏ houre being arriued, there and then ſhall euery man finde for him ſelfe, what fortune hath prouided.

All

All these thinges Alexander saide vnto Thrasibulus in secrete, and afterwards openly in the hearing of all men. Not manie dayes after these thinges passed, Alexander departed vnto the warres of Germanie, which were not prosecuted in Germanie, but in Gallia transalpina: for because the French men were subiect vnto the Romains, the Germaines did inuade them. Alexander beeing in the greatest heate of these warres, certeine mutinous souldiours and olde seruantes of Heliogabalus, did create a capteine, named *M*aximius, Emperour: because the Emperour Alexander woulde not consente, but vtterly detested their horrible and vicious actes. Alexander remaining in the lesser Britaine in a place named Cilicia, Maximius & his trayterous adherentes determined to kill him their Lorde and Emperour, before it might be manifested through the armies: for ỹ, notwithstanding diuers of them did doubt his seueritie, yet on the other parte all persons did loue his iustice.

Alexander reposinge at after noone, ỹ traytours agreed with a iester to murther him in his tente: who beeing entred, fel into such dismay, that he not only gaue ouer his determined attempt vnperfourmed, but also fledde with no small doubt and feare affrighted. But beeing afterwardes retyred vnto *M*aximius and his companions, persuaded them presently to kill Alexander, beeing at that time on his bedde solitarie and vnaccompanied, for that other wise he woulde discouer their whole intente: which he saide, because it was A lawe *M*artiall, that anie which shoulde aduenture to enter the tente of the prince without licence, shoulde pay no lesse then the losse of his life. Maximius and his complices consideringe what the iester had saide, presently determined to murther their Lorde and Emperour Alexander: and so ioyntly and furiously entringe his tente, slewe both him, his mother, and all persons that made resistance, or ouerthwarted them

with anie displeasaunt speache. Alexander died one the twelfth of June, after thirtæne yeres & nine dayes of his Empire were expired: he liued twentie & nine yeres, three moneths, and seuen dayes: and was a Prince in Rome moste loued in his life, and most bewayled at his death. The enimies of Alexander did note him, that he despised in him selfe to be native in Assyria, that he loued gold, inuented newe tributes, was seuere with souldiours, did what he could to resemble Alexander *Magnus*, and that he was somewhate suspicious. But the thing wherefore Alexander was most blamed, and iustly deserued to bee noted, was, that being a man, and of greate experience in the gouernement of the Empire, he continued subiect vnto his mother, as when he was a childe: and in this case it was sufficient, that he had reuerenced and honoured her as a mother: and on the other parte to haue considered, that her counsell in the ende, was but of a woman. Alexander was so vniuersally beloued of all nations of the Empire, that it chaunced at his death, which neuer was read to haue chaunced at the death of any Prince of the worlde, that is to saye: that they were all slaine which brought the newes of his death: neither the commaundements of commissions of his successour, woulde they obey: aduouchinge it to bee blasphemie in the place of so vertuous a Prince, to yelde obedience vnto a traytour so detestable.

FINIS.

Errours escaped.

Page.	Faultes.	Correction
136	Chap. ii.	Chap.vii.
143	Chap. xi.	Chap.x.
335	Chap.iiii.	Chap.iii.
356	Chap.xii.	Chap.x.
431	Othe.	Other.
	Manea.	Mamea, and

so it must be read, wheresoeuer it is found.

¶ A generall Table, conteyning the titles or arguments of euery *Chapter throughout the bodie of this whole booke.*

(∴)

The life of the Emperour Traiane. Pag. 13.

Chap. 1 OF foure renoumed cities that perished and were subuerted in Spaine.

2 Of the countrie and birth of the Emperour Traiane.

3 Howe Traiane passed out of Spaine, being a young man to goe into Italie.

4 Of the friendship and parentage that Traiane had with the Emperour Nerua.

5 Howe Nerua was made Emperour, and adopted Traiane his sonne.

6 Of the lawes that Traiane made, to the profite of the common wealth.

7 Of the noble and notable vertues that were in Traiane.

8 Of the proude and stately buyldinges which Traiane made.

9 Of some vices whereof Traiane was noted.

10 Of the first warres that Traiane had against the Datians.

11 Howe Traiane triumphed ouer the Datians, and refourmed his common wealth.

12 Of the second warres that Traiane had against the Datians.

13 Of the great buyldings that Traiane made in the kingdome of Datia.

14 Of the second entring of Rome by the Emperour Traiane, and the notable thinges, which he did in the same.

15 What Traiane did in Sicyl, in Africa, and in Spaine.

16 Howe Traiane did passe out of Spaine into Asia, and the

manner that he vſed in the warres.
17 Of the honourable titles that the Romanes ſent vnto Traiane, and of the earthquake in Antioche.
18 Howe Traiane ſubdued Aſſyria, and what he did in Babylon.
19 Howe Traiane, after great trauell to paſſe into the Indiaes, was conſtreined to retyre.
20 Howe Traiane comming from Aſia to triumph in Rome, was ſtaide by death in Sicyl.

The life of the Emperour Adrian. Pag. 71.

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2 Of ſome euil inclinations that poſſeſſed & had power in Adrian.
3 Of the friendes and enimies which Adrian had.
4 Of the loue that the Emperour Traiane had vnto Adrian.
5 Of the care and ſolicitude of Adrian, to obteine the Empire.
6 Howe at Traianes death Adrian was declared Emperour.
7 Of his entraunce into Rome.
8 Of the good conditions and inclinations of Adrian.
9 Of the manner which Adrian vſed with the men of warre.
10 Of the actes that Adrian did in Englande, Fraunce, and Spaine.
11 Howe Adrian did paſſe into Aſia, and of the things that chaunced there.
12 Of the great liberalitie that Adrian vſed, and ſome cruelties that he committed.

The Table.

13 Of the lawes that Adrian made.
14 Of some of his gratious and pythie sentences.
15 Of the thinges that he did worthie praise, and some other thinges worthie dispraise.
16 Whome Adrian did adopt to succeede him in his Empire.
17 Howe, and where the Emperour Adrian died.

The life of the Emperour Antoninus Pius. Pag. 118.

Chap. 1 Of the lineage and countrie of the Emperour Antoninus Pius.
2 Of the inclination, proportion, and naturall fashion of his bodie.
3 Of the woorkes of pietie which he did, and the cause why hee was intituled Antoninus Pius.
4 Of the woordes that Adrian saide vnto the Senate, when he did adopt Antoninus Pius.
5 Of the offices that Antoninus helde before he was Emperour.
6 Howe he held all Prouinces in peace, not by armes, but with letters.
7 How he did visite the officers of his cõmon wealth, and the reformation of his house.
8 Of certeine notable buyldings erected by Antoninus.
9 Of certeine lawes which the Emperour Antoninus Pius made.
10 Of the prodigious and monsterous things that happened, during the Empire of Antoninus Pius.
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5 Howe Commodus left the warres of Panonia to go to Rome.
6 Howe Commodus was cruell, and of the cruelties which he vsed.
7 Of a certeine conspiracie attempted against Commodus, and of Perennius his moste fauoured Counsellour.
8 Of a conspiracie that Perennius wrought against the Emperour Commodus.
9 Of the tyrant Maternus, and of his treason against Commodus.
10 Of the inexpected death of Cleander, a fauoured and moste priuate seruaunt vnto Commodus.
11 The reporte of a fyer which descended from Heauen, and burned in Rome the Temple of Peace.
12 Of many cruelties, and not a fewe phantasticall practises of Commodus.
13 A discourse of the prouinces that rebelled in his reigne, and the prodigies of his death.
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7 Of many thinges whiche he did ordeine & refourme in the common wealth.
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FINIS.

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